This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

EXCHANGE

SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CALIFORNIENSIS
LVX
FIAT
MDCCCLXVIII
EX LIBRIS

EXCHANGE
SEP 12 1917

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Louisiana Historical Society

New Orleans, Louisiana

Proceedings and Reports, 1916

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF

VOLUME IX

New Orleans
The Louisiana Historical Society
1917

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Louisiana Historical Society

New Orleans, Louisiana

Proceedings and Reports, 1916

VOLUME IX

New Orleans
The Louisiana Historical Society
1917

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Louisiana Historical Society

New Orleans, Louisiana

Proceedings and Reports, 1916

VOLUME IX

New Orleans
The Louisiana Historical Society
1917

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

F366
.L8
v.9-10

EXCHANGE

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Meeting of February, 1916; abstract of the minutes..... 7
Sketch of the Expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Colonial Louisiana, by Rev. J. J. O'Brien..... 9
Meeting of March; abstract of the minutes..... 24
Meeting of April; abstract of the minutes..... 27
The Opera in New Orleans, by Harry Brunswick Loeb..... 29
Reminiscences of the French Opera, by Mrs. Emilie LeJeune. 41
Municipal Support of the Theatres and Operas in New Orleans, by Edgar Grima..... 43
Notes on General Wilkinson's Memorial and Miro and Navarro's Dispatch No. 13, by Gilbert Pemberton..... 45
Meeting of May; abstract of the minutes..... 54
Meeting of September; abstract of the minutes..... 55
The Bible in Louisiana a Century Ago, by W. O. Hart..... 56
Meeting of October; abstract of the minutes..... 74
Letter from Governor Claiborne to General James Wilkinson. 75
Letter Written by British Officer Relative to the Battle of New Orleans..... 76
Representation Upon the Limits of Louisiana by Brigadier General Estevan Miro, 1793..... 80
Meeting of November; abstract of the minutes..... 86
The Yturbide of New Orleans, by Grace King..... 87
Meeting of December; abstract of the minutes..... 91
The Origin of the Various Names of the Mississippi River, by T. P. Thompson..... 92
Meeting of January, 1917; abstract of the minutes..... 95
Notes on Painter, J. G. L. Amans..... 96
Forgotten Treks, by Purnell M. Milner..... 98
Resolutions on the Death of John J. Rochester.....118
Annual Report of the Treasurer, W. O. Hart.....121
Report of Corresponding Secretary, Robert Glenk.....122
Act 274, regarding the printing of the reports and journal of the Louisiana Historical Society.....125
Loans and Gifts to the Society in 1916.....126
List of Officers and Committees, 1917.....131
Members Elected in 1916.....132

556813

UNIVERSITY OF
ARIZONA
LIBRARY

INTRODUCTION.

THE YEAR'S WORK.

The past year in retrospection presents an even record of faithful work and steady growth. The monthly meetings have been held regularly; the papers have been of uniform interest, many of them drawn from personal memory or from family archives, showing that the Society has at last touched those vital authoritative sources in making connection with past history, a consummation for which it has been patiently hoping and waiting many years. Outstanding among the events to be recorded with thanksgiving is the publication by the Society of a quarterly, an undertaking that has been made possible by the gracious act of the Legislature, placing the official records of the Society in the Department of State Public Printing. This relieves the Society of a noticeable expense, while it insures the regular publication of an accumulation of documents of rare historical value that have been lying dead, as it were, in the Society's archives without hope of resurrection. A Committee of Publication, of which the Hon. John Dymond is chairman, has prepared the first number of the Quarterly, which will be placed in the hands of the members before these pages are printed. Of the present Annual, while no other introduction or recommendation other than a cursory glance over its contents is necessary, the Secretary cannot forbear calling particular attention to the hitherto unpublished notes on "General Wilkinson's Memorial," and "Miro's and Navarro's Dispatch, No. 13." Also, to the interesting paper, "Some Forgotten Treks," by Mr. Milner, a member of the Society, whose comprehensive study of the old highways of the country is a valuable contribution to the existing historical and geographical data, concerning the development of the Southern half of the North American continent.

The long and able report of the Corresponding Secretary, at the end of the volume, giving the facts and figures that serve as the skeleton upon which the Society's activities are moulded makes any further comment unnecessary.

GRACE KING, Secretary.

February, 1917.

MEETING OF FEBRUARY, 1916.

The Louisiana Historical Society held its regular meeting on Wednesday evening, February 6, at the Cabildo. All the officers were present. The minutes of the previous meeting were read by Miss King and approved by the Society.

Miss King then begged the attention of the Society for a few minutes while she read the report of Mr. William Price, the archivist, as to the work he had accomplished in the card indexing of the historical documents contained in the "black boxes," as they are familiarly designated, confided by the State to the custody of the Society.

The report, an able and comprehensive paper, was listened to with the extreme interest that its importance demanded. At its close an informal discussion took place among the officers of the Society, in which the discontinuance of this splendid work for want of funds was deplored, and the hope was expressed by all that the Society would not supinely submit to circumstances in so grave a matter, but make an effort to overcome them and pursue this interrupted task, which seemed almost a sacred one and is, beyond doubt, an imperative duty.

Mr. T. P. Thompson registered himself as unequivocally in favor of devoting the funds of the Society to such historical work, rather than expending them on banquets, celebrations and monumental schemes that appealed, it is true, to popular taste, but did not further the object for which the Society was founded. His words were impressive and produced a marked effect on the members.

Mr. Dymond proposed that the matter be put into the hands of the Archives Committee, and that the report read by Miss King should be printed in the forthcoming volume of the Society. The proposition was embodied in a resolution which was voted upon and unanimously carried.†

Mr. Cusachs in a few happy words presented the essayist of the evening, the Rev. Father O'Brien, as a member of the Order of Jesuits, which had contributed so nobly and heroically to the history of his country, particularly that of Louisiana.

† *Note.*—Published in the Annual for 1916.

Father O'Brien's paper covered the history of the founding of the Jesuit College in the Parish of St. Landry. It was replete with interesting local details and character color, and will serve as a valued reference to the future students of the early history and educational progress of the State.

The Society testified its appreciation by a vote of thanks.

Mr. Cusachs then presented to the Society an old silk flag of a Louisiana regiment. It had come into the possession of and was presented to the Society by Mr. Ed. Curtis, the once well-known auctioneer of this city, who was now living and doing business in San Francisco. The flag was gratefully accepted as a precious relic.

Mr. W. O. Hart, an indefatigable collector of historical documents and souvenirs, presented to the Museum, in the name of Mr. H. Duvalle, a quaint reminder of a well-remembered episode in the city's past. This was a printed cotton handkerchief fabricated as a souvenir of the famous Sullivan-Fitzsimmons prize fight, whose prevention in New Orleans almost caused a revolution in judicial and political circles. It was eventually held on the lake shore in Mississippi.

Mr. Duvalle also donated an old flag of the Continentl Guards, a more pleasing souvenir of the city's past, which was gratefully accepted by the Society.

Mr. Hart read an excerpt from the Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, describing the banquet given in Ghent by the civic notabilities in honor of the termination of the Treaty of Ghent, on February 7, 1716, by the English and American Commission, the treaty that has insured peace between the two great English-speaking nations until this day. Mr. Hart brought also for the consideration of the Society a copy of the Times-Picayune reprinting the account of the opening of the St. Charles Hotel in New Orleans sixty-three years ago. As the hour was late, he waived the reading of it.

After the election of new members the meeting was adjourned.

SKETCH OF THE EXPULSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS FROM COLONIAL LOUISIANA

Paper read before the Louisiana Historical Society, July 21, 1915
By J. J. O'Brien, S. J.

Before coming to the subject of this paper it will be necessary to make a brief survey of the work of the Jesuits in the ancient colony of Louisiana. Some historians take for granted that the Jesuits came to the southern portion of the colony only in 1726. This is far from correct, as it is an incontrovertible fact that in 1700 the Jesuit priest, Father Paul du Rhu, accompanied Iberville on the latter's second voyage to the colony and that this same priest labored first at Biloxi (Ocean Springs), and afterward at Mobile. In 1702 Father Peter Donge, S. J., was sent to Mobile to assist Father du Rhu; and Father Joseph de Limoges, S. J., was at this period doing missionary work among the Houmas Indians, who dwelt on the east bank of the Mississippi about seven leagues above the Red River. At the end of the year 1703 the work of these three Jesuit fathers in lower Louisiana came to an abrupt close. This was brought about by the injudicious desire of the priests of the Seminary of Quebec to have an establishment at the small settlement of Mobile. In order to prevent any friction arising from the presence of two sets of missionaries in the same district, the Jesuit superiors decided to vacate the lower Louisiana field and, accordingly, recalled their subjects to France.

Three years after the founding of New Orleans (1718), the Jesuit Father, Pierre François X. Charlevoix was sent by royal authority to investigate and report on the general condition, temporal and spiritual, of the Colony of Louisiana. On his return to France and, apparently because of his report, the civil government of Louisiana was cut off from that of Canada, with which it had hitherto been united. The Company of the West, by an ordinance of May 16, 1722 (professedly approved by Bishop St. Vallier of Quebec, under whose spiritual jurisdiction Louisiana was), divided the Colony of Louisiana into three districts. New Orleans and west of the Mississippi went to the Capuchians; the Illinois country, or upper Louisiana, to the Jesuits, and the Mobile district to the Carmelites. Each religious

order was given parish rights only within its own district; nor could the priests of one order perform any ecclesiastical functions within the territory allotted to the others without their sanction. The headquarters of the Capuchin territory were to be at New Orleans, those of the Carmelites at Mobile, and the Jesuits at Kaskaskia, where Father Joseph Kereben, S. J., was superior.

This arrangement of districts did not last long, for the Carmelites were unable to supply subjects for the Mobile territory, which was accordingly handed over to the Capuchins, while the care of all the Indian missions in Louisiana was given over to the Jesuits. On the 20th of February, 1726, a new agreement, by which that of 1722 was annulled, was made between the Society of Jesus and the Company of the West, and received the King's approbation on the 17th of August of that year.

In 1725 Father Kereben, S. J., was succeeded as Superior of the Jesuits of Louisiana Territory by Father Nicolas Ignatius de Beaubois, S. J., who very soon after his appointment to office visited New Orleans and, toward the close of the year 1725, sailed for France. Before leaving for Europe he selected a temporary residence in New Orleans, for he was already made aware that the Company of the West wished the Jesuits to take up a permanent abode in New Orleans. The site of the temporary residence was on the southeast corner of Bienville and Chartres streets and is so marked in a reliable map dated 1728.

The new agreement between the Company of the West and the Society of Jesus, to which Father de Beaubois was a party, had many features, of which the following, according to Martin, are the chief.

The Company of the West agreed to bring Jesuit priests and lay brothers on the following conditions: Each priest was to receive a salary of 600 livres ($133.35), with an additional 200 livres for each of the first five years, and 450 livres for his outfit. A chapel or church was to be erected at the expense of the Company for the Jesuits at each mission station attended to by them in the colony. Lay brothers were to have their passage paid, receive a bounty of 150 livres ($33.35), but no salary. By another clause it was agreed that the Jesuits on their arrival at

New Orleans were to receive a grant of land of 3600 feet frontage on the river and with a depth of 9600 feet; they were, moreover, to enjoy the privilege of purchasing slaves on the same terms as the colonists. The Jesuits on their side bound themselves to keep constantly at least fourteen members of their Order in the colony, namely, a pastor and missionary at Kaskaskia (Illinois); a missionary in the village of the Brochigomas [?]; a chaplain and missionary at the Wabash Fort; a missionary at the Arkansas Post; a chaplain and missionary at Fort St. Peter among the Yazoos (Mississippi); another missionary at the same place, whose duty it would be to penetrate into the country of the Chicasaws so as to convert them to the true faith and promote union and friendship between them and the French; two missionaries were to be sent to the Alibamon Post, one of whom was to devote himself especially to the conversion of the Choctaws. The Superior of the Jesuits in the Colony of Louisiana was to reside in New Orleans, but was not to perform any parish duties there without the sanction of the Capuchin superior, who, with the priests of his Order, alone possessed parish rights there. The Company agreed to furnish the Jesuit superior with a chapel, vestry room, etc., a house and lot for his accommodation, that of a companion priest, and the temporary use of such priests of the Order as might arrive in the colony through the port of New Orleans.

Besides the successful arrangement of the contract between the Western Company and the Society of Jesus, Father de Beaubois' visit to France had two other successful results, namely, that of securing six Jesuit priests as an earnest of more in the near future, and a colony of Ursuline Nuns for the foundation of a Monastery of Ursulines in Louisiana. In the spring of 1727, Father de Beaubois, accompanied by his six fellow priests, was back in New Orleans and, with the spirit of zeal that characterized him, immediately set about establishing the plantation. The grant of land given in the contract with the Western Company was situated on the west bank of the Mississippi about four and a half miles above the town limits (opposite the present Audubon Park) [?]. This situation was undesirable, as it was too remote from the town and would necessitate extra expense in the

management. Father de Beaubois saw this at a glance and hence took steps while in France to secure a more suitable location for the plantation. For this reason, by an act of sale passed on the 11th of April 1726, before Andre Chavre, notary, at Chatellet, Paris, Bienville transferred to the Jesuits, represented by Fathers de Beaubois and d'Avaugour, a large tract of land on the east side of the river. In the Tenth U. S. Census (Social Statistics of Cities, Vol. II, page 216), this tract is described as comprising an area of 20 arpents (2600 feet) front by 50 arpents (9000 feet) depth, within straight lines, and lying within boundaries now indicated by Common, Tchoupitoulas, Annunciation and Terpsichore streets and the Bayou St. John. On the 22d of January, 1728, another tract, lying beside the first, and measuring five arpents by fifty, was sold to the Jesuits by M. deNoyan, a relative of Bienville, and in the latter's name. A third purchase was made by the Fathers on the 3d of December, 1745, of M. Breton (Comptroller of the Navy), consisting of seven by fifty arpents, adjoining the preceding. In a word, the Jesuit plantation in New Orleans in its last development reached from the river to the present Broad street and from the upper side of Common street to Orange street.

After securing slaves, as promised in the contract with the Western Company, and after erecting the requisite buildings [in reliable maps of New Orleans after 1728 the Jesuit residence, chapel and slave apartments are located at what is now the northwest corner of Gravier and Magazine streets], the land was fenced in and was at once made to answer the purpose which it had to serve. In order to comply with the public statute, a small portion of the property was turned over to the use of a colonist, who, in consideration thereof, took charge of the levee and public or royal road [the one that figured so conspicuously in the famous batture case afterward] along the river end of the plantation.

Gradually, under the prudent direction of the Fathers, the plantation assumed shape and became a source of countless advantages and blessings to the colony at large. In the course of time it increased and its usefulness was multiplied a hundred fold, so that this establishment at New Orleans was not only a

cause of wonder to all but a source of inspiration to the colonists; and at the same time a storehouse from which all the outlying missions derived subsistence and prosperity.

Though the peculiar purpose of the plantation was to provide in various ways for other Jesuit stations, so that the missionaries could carry on their apostolic work among the Indians without having to busy themselves with temporal concerns, it was also itself an apostolic center on a smaller scale. Father Mathurin Le Petit, S. J., the successor as Superior of the Louisiana Missions to Father de Beaubois, writing to the General, Rev. Father Francis Retz, in June, 1738, says: "Here in New Orleans, the chief, or rather the only, city of this vast region, we number two priests and two lay brothers. My companion is the missionary to the hospital and to the soldiers, and likewise confessor to the Nuns of St. Ursula. I instruct in Christian morals the negro slaves of our residents and as many as I can from other quarters. I direct the sodality of workingmen, which I established not long ago, hear confessions in our chapel and preach during Advent and Lent as often as I am invited to do so by the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, who minister to the neighboring parishes of the French people."

The immediate and most far-reaching result of the Jesuit plantation at New Orleans was to do what the French government should have done but did not do. It relieved the poverty of the struggling churches in the colony; it provided the missions with means to carry on the divine service; it enabled them to answer in some way at least the thousand wants of their wretched flocks. It was also a center to which the Jesuit missionaries had recourse to build up their broken health or renew their own spiritual life.

Things went on well in the various missions of the colony until November, 1729, when the tyranny and rapacity of Chepart, the French officer in command of Fort Rosalie, Natchez, caused the Indians of the Natchez and other tribes to rise in revolt against the French, and a frightful massacre of the latter was the result. Father Du Poisson, S. J., who was on his way from the Arkansas Post to New Orleans, happened to be at the moment in Natchez and was brutally murdered on the 27th of November. The re-

volt spread to the Yazoo tribe, which, on the 11th of December, 1729, treacherously killed the holy and self-sacrificing missionary, Father John Souel, S. J. A few weeks later Father Doutreleau, S. J., who was on his way from the Illinois country to New Orleans, was attacked (while in the act of saying mass), by the savages at the mouth of the Yazoo River, and so badly wounded that he barely escaped with his life. In 1736, Father Anthony Senat, S. J., who as chaplain accompanied a French force sent out against the Chickasaws in what is now Lee County, Mississippi, was captured by the savages and burned at the stake.

Ordinary history has been charged with being a huge conspiracy against the truth. The reason is not hard to find. Nothing is easier than to give a twist to the truth in writing history, for although a history should be impartial, it very often reflects the thoughts and bias of the narrator. To give a striking example of the correctness of this statement I have only to instance the remarkably unfair way in which Mr. Gayarré has recorded the controversy, or, as he styles it, "The Religious Warfare" between the Capuchins and the Jesuits in colonial New Orleans. Lest I myself should fall under the fatal effects of bias I shall refrain from expressing an opinion and merely cite the words of an eminent jurist of the Louisiana Bar in this connection: "About 1755," says Judge McGloin, "arose the controversy between the Jesuits and the Capuchins upon the subject of their respective jurisdictions, which controversy a certain Louisiana historian designates as a religious warfare. The same historian takes up the cudgels strong for the Capuchins and lays upon the Jesuits imputations of dishonest ambition, duplicity, fraud and general malpractice. Strange that others may differ as to their rights and strive for the maintenance of respective privileges as they see them without it being charged that they are attempting robbery or fraud. It seems, however, with some, that if the difference be touching some right of ecclesiastical character, there arises an inexorable necessity that both contestants, or one at least, must be in bad faith and dishonest.

"The controversy in this case was a simple one and, to fair minds, does not suggest the presence of aught dishonorable to either of the parties. The Capuchins had been allotted, in the

year 1722, as a field for their labors, the city of New Orleans and a very large adjoining area. In 1726, as already mentioned, the Jesuits were assigned to the upper portion of what was then the Territory of Louisiana. As a necessary adjunct of their missionary establishment, they were allowed a house in the city of New Orleans, the port of entry, for the entire country over which their missions extended. True it is, it had been stipulated that the Jesuits were to exercise no religious functions within the limits occupied by the Capuchins without the assent of the Superior of the Capuchins. We have seen," adds this writer, "that in 1726 the Capuchin Superior, Father Bruno, was Vicar-General for the Bishop of Quebec, the Ordinary of the enormous diocese including Canada and the Territory of Louisiana."

"The convention of 1726," continues Mr. McGloin, "could not affect the authority of the Bishop of Quebec over the entire area of his diocese; nor did it impose upon him any restriction in the matter of selecting his Vicar-General. Father Bruno happened, in 1726, to be such a vicar, and the authority he exercised as such was not the authority resting in him as Superior of the Capuchins. As representative of the Ordinary (*i. e.*, the Bishop of Quebec), the Jesuits themselves were to an extent subject to him (Fr. Bruno), in so far as they discharged pastoral duties within the limits covered by his appointment as vicar. There was no concession by the Bishop of Quebec holding him *always* to appoint a Capuchin as his vicar in Louisiana, consequently when the Bishop of Quebec appointed Very Rev. Father Baudoin, the Jesuit Superior (in 1757), to be his vicar, and vested him with the appurtenant power, there was no violation of the compact of 1726. That convention did not vest the Capuchins with aught more than what would now be known as parochial duties; it did not confide to them any episcopal jurisdiction or authority. The appointment of a Jesuit Vicar-General did not impair the parochial rights of the Capuchins, and such Jesuit vicar could be merely representative of episcopal authority, in that quarter, as Father Bruno had been before. When the Capuchins, in good faith, no doubt, on their side and in fair defense of their rights as they conceived them to be, objected to the exercise by Father Boudoin of his authority as Vicar-General, the latter

advanced this very line of reasoning, and drew this very distinction. To the ordinary mind fairly well versed in ecclesiastical concerns, it would seem that the point was well taken, and we remain at a loss to see what justification there is for any historians pretending to read the minds of the parties involved in such controversy so as to see bad faith and basest duplicity in the conduct of the Jesuits in general and of Father Boudoin in particular."

As a matter of historical information it is well to state that the documents in the archives of the Ursuline Convent, New Orleans, put beyond all question of cavil that all the Jesuit superiors from 1726 to 1763 were legitimate vicars-general of the Bishop of Quebec and at the same time ecclesiastical superiors of the Ursulines. With regard to the particular controversy referred to above, the historian Shea points out that the Jesuits wished to yield the point to the Capuchins, but Bishop Pontbriand of Quebec insisted on their retaining the office. The matter was brought before the Superior Council of Louisiana, which, be it noted, recognized and registered the appointment of Father Baudoin, S. J., as Vicar-General.

Meanwhile in France great hostility was displayed against the Society of Jesus by the government. The enemies of the Jesuits had, with very few exceptions, won over all the provincial parliaments to their side and wheedled them into passing decrees having for their final object the destruction of the Society. On the 1st of April, 1762, the Parliament of Paris passed a law closing all the Jesuit colleges in its jurisdiction. All France followed the example set by Paris, and Louisiana, the sole remaining colony of France in North America, was not to be left behind in the race for the glory to be won in maligning, plundering and banishing her Jesuit benefactors. Some individuals in high places in the colony were hostile to the Jesuits, and this action on the part of the mother country appeared to them to be a favorable moment for attaining their end. The relations between the Capuchins and the Jesuits in New Orleans were still strained, but there was no desire on either side to renew the old dispute until Father Hilaire de Géneveaux became Superior of the Capuchins. This ecclesiastic, whom history attests

was both capable and learned, once more renewed the claim of the Capuchins to be the sole possessors of the vicar-generalship in New Orleans. Here was the opportunity longed for by the enemies of the Jesuits in the colony. They saw a splendid chance to ruin the Society of Jesus and yet escape censure, for circumstances offered them a scapegoat in the Capuchins. The dominant party in France could not accuse them of being backward in furthering the cause, while to the friends of religion and order these worthies could, washing their hands, answer with Pilate: "We are innocent of this crime; lay the blame on the Capuchins."

It now becomes my duty to speak of the great sacrifices demanded of the Jesuits of colonial Louisiana before it pleased Providence to try their obedience unto death. Only one of the victims, Father Watrin, S. J., has left an account of the expulsion from Louisiana, unless, as some think, the intercepted letters and stolen documents of the others may lie rotting in the archives of the Marine Department at Paris, whither Choiseul had all such documents deposited. The most truthful source of information extant on this subject and the one to which I am largely indebted for this paper is Father Watrin's brochure, originally written in French and published in Paris on the 3d of September, 1764. This brochure was republished by Father Carayon, S. J., in 1865.

And how did the Jesuits act, asks the author of the brochure, when they saw the clouds gather around them? At first they were filled with apprehension, but the encouragement of their well-wishers and their deep-rooted confidence in the power of God's protection strengthened them anew and they went on attending to their usual avocations without taking care for the future. Such were the circumstances when a vessel from France arrived on the 29th of June, 1763. On board were Abbadie, the new Governor, and La Frenière, the new Procurator-General of the colony. Abbadie informed Father Baudoin, the Superior of the Jesuits, what steps had been taken against the Society of Jesus in France, and added: "I believe that the Procurator-General is charged with some order that concerns you." This was an

intimation, perhaps friendly, to the members of the Society in Louisiana to prepare the decks for the coming action, but the fathers were so confident that no valid charge could be brought against them, so sure of the backing of the colony, notwithstanding the example of France, that they took no steps to defend themselves. It was, indeed, the wisest course; for all they might have done could not save them, as they were already condemned, and resistance, though ever so justifiable, would only furnish the malice of their enemies with material out of which it could construct a charge of resistance to authority. A war of extermination was now declared against them. The Superior Council of Louisiana, which, be it remembered, some few years before had sustained the Jesuits in their rights against the Capuchins, now seemed anxious to reverse its former judgment, and, as a preliminary measure, ordered the constitutions of the Society of Jesus to be examined. Thus it came to pass in Louisiana, as in the European countries, that these venerable constitutions of Saint Ignatius Loyola, which had been approved by several Popes and by a General Council of the Catholic Church at Trent, were to be passed upon in New Orleans not by theologians or canonists, but by shopkeepers, doctors and military officers. The judges were ignorant of the Latin language in which the constitutions were written, and none of them, except M. Chatillon, Colonel of the Angoumois Regiment, showed themselves any way in favor of the Jesuits. The charges brought against the Fathers in Louisiana were the same trite ones that had been used to advantage by their enemies in various European countries. The principal charges were: (1) That the Jesuits attacked the royal authority, (2) encroached on the rights of Bishops, and (3) endangered the public safety. It was not to be expected, however, that in a sparsely-settled country like Louisiana, where the Jesuits and their heroic labors were seen of all, such sweeping charges would find general credence; hence some local charges were added. These were: (1) That the Jesuits took no care of their missions; (2) that they thought of nothing save how to improve their plantation; (3) that they usurped the office of Vicar-General.

Such were the preposterous accusations brought against men honored and esteemed by Bienville, the founder of New Orleans; by his successor in office, the stern Perrier, who, in the hour of his direst need, found the Jesuits a tower of strength; by the generous Vaudreuil; by Kerlerec, the honest naval captain, doomed afterward to rot in the Bastile, and who, in this supreme crisis, thus wrote to the Jesuit Fathers: "Blessed are ye when they shall revile you and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you untruly, for my sake; be glad and rejoice;" by Abbadie, the recently appointed Governor, who showed, as far as he dared, that his sympathies leaned toward the Jesuits but who lacked the courage of his convictions.

It would be needless delay to spend time in refuting the general charges which even those who made them knew to be false, and which have been refuted time and again by learned and holy men. As regards the local charges made against the Jesuits of Louisiana, a few words may be said. It was a matter of public knowledge at the time, and therefore could not have escaped the notice of the Superior Council, that not only had the Jesuit missionaries toiled and sweated among the Indian charges, but that they were the only class of missionaries who had taken the trouble to learn the Indian dialects so as thereby all the more readily to gain the poor savages to Christ. It was not unknown to the Superior Council that many Jesuits had shed their blood for the sake of the faith in Louisiana, and that those who were not quite so fortunate as to offer up their life-blood for Christ served Him in labor and weariness in caring for the nomadic Indians, being thereby obliged to forego all intercourse with their fellow white men for months and sometimes years at a time. It was also known to every Frenchman in the colony that the presence of the "Black-Robes" among the savages was a protection far better than weapons or armies. And yet, O ingratitude! these same Black-Robes were accused of taking no care of their missions. To pass on to the second indictment, namely, the Jesuits thought of nothing save how to improve their plantation: The framers of this charge were fully aware that the revenues derived from the plantation were devoted solely to the upkeeping of the various Indian missions throughout the

colony. They were also aware of the good effect produced on the white settlers as well as on the Indians by the industry exhibited on this model Louisiana plantation. They were aware that to the Jesuits Louisiana owed its sugar cane, its orange and fig trees; and that the Jesuits, though they were not the introducers of the indigo plant and wax-myrtle tree, were nevertheless the ones who made the cultivation of both a source of revenue for the entire colony. The plantation of the Jesuits was a shining model for all, and deserved the praise, not the blame, of the colonial as well as of the French government. Referring to what the Jesuits had done for Louisiana, the United States Social Statistics for 1880 uses these words: "Much encouragement was given to agriculture in Louisiana by the example of their [the Jesuits'] industry and enterprise." Lastly, the Jesuits were accused of having usurped the office of Vicar-General. This charge needs no refutation, as it was made in direct contradiction of the decision handed down and faithfully registered by the Superior Council itself only a few years before. Besides, even supposing the charge was true, it could not be brought against the whole body of the Jesuits in the colony and could only be laid at the door of an individual member of the Order.

On the 9th of July, 1763, the Superior Council of Louisiana condemned the Jesuits throughout the Colony without examination and without a hearing. It declared their religious vows null and void (though where a secular court got jurisdiction over spiritual affairs is not apparent); forbade them for the future to call themselves Jesuits, and ordered that they should lay aside their religious habit and assume that worn by the secular clergy. It decreed, moreover, that all their goods and chattels, with the exception of such books and clothes as each one was permitted to retain, should be sold at auction; that the money accruing from the property in New Orleans should be forwarded to Choiseul to be divided at his discretion among the Fathers of the Louisiana mission, and that all other monies coming from the properties in other parts of the colony should go to the King's treasury. It was further ordered that the church ornaments and sacred vessels should be handed over to the Capuchins; that the chapels should be razed; that the

Fathers should be sent back to France as soon as possible, and that in the meantime they should not be allowed to live in community.

The execution of the decree was a repetition of the indignities common on the part of civil officers in those days. Sheriffs, appraisers and their underlings took possession of the Jesuit residence, feasted on the best the plantation produced, and, by way of adding insult to injury, obliged the aged Superior, Father Boudoin, to be present at their riotous banquets. At length the sale came to an end and the chapel, within whose hallowed walls the famous chief, Chicago, with his Illinois followers, had sung hymns of praise to God, and where they had prayed for the French monarch and their beloved Black-Robes, was leveled to the ground. This, indeed, was an unnecessary and altogether wanton piece of destruction in a country so poor in sacred edifices, but the desecration of the adjoining graveyard was an act of vindictiveness for which the name vandalism is too mild. The destruction at New Orleans was only a part of the general program of the Superior Council; there yet remained a similar destruction of chapels and residences in other parts of the colony and the banishment of the Fathers before the Jesuits could say that their sacrifice was complete. Seeing how ruthlessly the other commands of the Council had been enforced, the Fathers who happened to be residing in New Orleans or its vicinity left before they could be proceeded against. Father Carette embarked for San Domingo and Father Roy hurried off to Pensacola, Florida, where he arrived in time to sail for Mexico with the Spanish officials then retiring in virtue of the cession of West Florida to England. The aged Superior, Father Michael Baudoin, the benefactor of the colony, the man to whom our present State of Louisiana owes so much of its prosperity, alone remained. He had passed thirty-five years in the colony, and was then seventy-two years old and broken down by his labors. The authorities allowed him to remain because, forsooth, "being a Canadian he had no friends or relatives in France." As a Canadian, Father Baudoin was a British subject and possibly this may in a manner account for the sudden clemency extended to him. Moreover, when it is remembered that the very men who

at this juncture were plundering him of all he possessed, afterward granted him an annuity, the thought suggests itself that his stay in New Orleans, notwithstanding the decree of banishment may have been owing to the fact that the rulers were, as we are told of some of their prototypes in Holy Scripture, "fearful of a commotion among the people." Hard beyond measure would have been the lot of the aged missionary had not Etienne Boré* kindly taken him to his home, where, some three years later, the broken-hearted veteran passed to his eternal reward. Etienne Boré, afterward famous as the first successful cultivator of the sugar cane which the Jesuits had introduced into the colony, owned what is now the Seventh District. His residence stood on the site of the Horticultural Hall, and the tract of land on which the Jesuits of today have erected the imposing group of buildings that forms Loyola University was the estate of his son-in-law, Pierre Foucher.

Meanwhile, that is, between July and December, 1763, the decree of the Superior Council was being enforced in all the missions ownd by the Jesuits throughout the colony, and the manner of its enforcement was in each case modelled on the heartless treatment shown the Fathers in New Orleans. The night of the 21st of December, 1763, was the date of a pathetic scene on the levee at New Orleans. Though the night was chilly, we are told, yet a large crowd of people gathered to see the Jesuit missionaries, some bowed down with years and others in the prime of life, arrive under armed escort from Kaskaskia, Fort Chartres, Caokia, Vincennes and other remote posts in upper Louisana. The Capuchin Fathers were there also; the misfortunes of their former rivals had roused their Christian charity and they came to alleviate, as best they could, the hardships of the unfortunate ones. The poor Jesuits from upper Louisiana were in a sad plight. There was no home of their own Order to shelter them, and where were they to lodge until the time of their departure for France arrived? They had no means of support and they could not count on their former friends. The Capuchins, though they begged the Jesuits to share their daily meals with them, could not lodge them, for their accommodations were scarcely ample enough for the members of their own Order in

* Grandfather of Charles Gayarre, the historian.

New Orleans. At this crisis an officer of the guard, M. Volsey, animated with Christian charity, acquainted Governor Abbadie of the sad condition in which the Jesuits were and secured them lodgings with a certain M. LeSassier, who treated them with the greatest kindness during the few weeks they had to remain in New Orleans.

The Fathers soon perceived that their presence in New Orleans was a source of embarrassment to Governor Abbadie and so, in the spirit of self-sacrifice, they resolved to embark for France as soon as they could procure passage despite the unfavorable season of the year. Accordingly some left by the Minerva in January, 1764, and were followed on the 6th of February by four others. One, Father de la Morinié, remained behind because he was too ill to undertake the ocean voyage, and another, Father Meurin, obtained permission of the Superior Council to return to his Indians at St. Genevieve (Missouri), in upper Louisiana, where for years he attended to the deserted missions of the Illinois country until his holy death, which occurred at Prairie du Roche on the 13th of August, 1777. His remains were afterward removed and now rest in the Jesuits' cemetery of St. Stanislaus' Seminary, at Florissant, Missouri.

The foregoing account is but a poor and rapid sketch of the sad fate of the intrepid Christian priests who, at a sacrifice of all that was dear to human nature had, for the space of over forty-one years, devoted themselves unsparingly to the spiritual interests of the white, black and Indian population of the Louisiana Territory, and in return they received the cup of vinegar and gall.

The violent men who drove the Society of Jesus from colonial Louisiana paid no attention to the consequences that were bound to result. Infidel or vicious, or both, little cared they that immortal souls would perish; little cared they that Christian Indian tribes should fall back into idolatry; that, as history asserts, even many whites, bereft of religious influence, should part with their Christian civilization and assume the garb of savagery. No; these men did not allow themselves to reflect before plunging themselves into an exhibition of passion and vice that in the eyes of all honest men must brand them with eternal infamy.

In the spirit of their Divine Master, yielding to the powers that ruled, a couple of dozen humble Jesuit missionaries departed from that colonial Louisiana which they loved and toiled for, but not long afterward, by a just Nemesis, France, Spain and England, yielding also to force, but for a different motive, departed thence, never, we devoutly hope, to return. Thenceforth through all the long years, while immigration was peopling the unoccupied lands of the west, and until states and cities and dioceses took shape and form, religion languished or died out. Such was the aftermath, with the dark ending of one of the darkest episodes in American colonial history.

MEETING OF MARCH, 1916.

The Louisiana Historical Society met on Wednesday evening, March 15, in the Cabildo. There was a good attendance of members and visitors; all the officers were present.

The Secretary read the minutes of the previous meeting, which were corrected and approved:

Judge Renshaw read the following report:

To the Louisiana Historical Society:

The Sign Committee beg leave to submit the following report: Your committee recommends the placing of three signs, viz., one on the exterior of the Cabildo, on the Chartres street frieze of the old Supreme Court room; one at the entrance to the Sala Capitular, and one at the Chartres street entrance to the Cabildo.

Respectfully submitted,

HY. RENSHAW, Chairman;
G. CUSACHS,
JOHN DYMOND,
W. O. HART,
ROBERT GLENK.

At the conclusion of this reading, Mr. Denechaud arose and objected seriously to placing signs on the outside of so venerable and venerated a building as the Cabildo. Judge Renshaw replied with eloquence and force, making the point that the sign of the Museum had been placed for several years on the outside of the old Civil District Court, now the Natural History Building. The President of the Board of Curators of the State Museum, Mr. T. P. Thompson, answered this. Judge Renshaw then read

the city ordinance giving over the two buildings to the Board of Curators of the Louisiana State Museum and domiciling the Louisiana Historical Society in the Sala Capitular of the Cabildo. Mr. Martin made a few remarks in a conciliatory spirit and finally the resolution of Judge Renshaw was submitted and approved by a unanimous vote, minus one voice, Mr. T. P. Thompson, who asked that his vote be recorded in the minutes as against it.

Before proceeding to the regular program, Mrs. Friedericks introduced Miss Ethel Hutson, who made a warm appeal to the Society to take some action to prevent the proposed destruction of the dome of the St. Louis Hotel, recounting the work done by a volunteer committee of ladies, at whose insistence the work of demolition had been arrested in order that so fine an example of early nineteenth century architecture might be preserved; one that was unique in the United States and not surpassed in the Old World. The dome, she said, was made of hollow tiles, such as were used 1400 years ago. By measurement it was a perfect construction and one that if rescued now from demolition would endure centuries longer, an honor to the city and its citizens. The Society passed over Miss Hutson's appeal in silence, and the President called upon Mr. Gilbert Pemberton for the paper he had prepared for the evening, entitled "Notes on General Wilkinson's Memorial and Miro and Navarro's Dispatch No. 13," translated from the original Spanish documents copied and given to the Society by the Baron de Pontalba.

It proved to be a paper of more than usual interest and importance regarding an episode that has not received hitherto the full treatment by historians necessary to the proper understanding of it. Mr. Pemberton's paper was listened to with attention, and he was thanked for it by vote.

Mr. James Wilkinson, who was present, was asked by Mr. Hart for a contribution carrying on the further history of General Wilkinson and his subsequent reëntry into the service of the United States. This, Mr. Wilkinson kindly consented to do.

Mr. T. P. Thompson called up the question of the proposed monument to Bienville and introduced Mrs. Charles LeSassier, who gave the following short account of the ancestry and work of Miss Angelica Schuyler Church, who desired to be awarded the contract for the proposed monument:

"Miss Church is a great-grandniece of the famous artist, John Trumbull, who painted the pictures in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, and who started the movement that later crystallized in the National Academy of Design with headquarters in New York. Her great-grandfaither was Professor Benjamin Silliman, distinguished pioneer in popularizing science, whose statue adorns the Yale campus. She is the only child of the late Colonel Benjamin Silliman Church, known as the dean of American engineers, who designed and built the new Croton aqueduct, also designing the plans of the new Croton dam, both pronounced when finished the greatest engineering feat of the time. For these Colonel Church was awarded a gold medal at the Paris Exposition.

"Miss Church's claim on the interest of Southern people comes through her mother, Miss Mary Van Wyke of Washington, born in Nashville, Tenn., and a descendant of the Cantrels, Polk and Maury families of Tennessee, closely related to the celebrated scientist, M. F. Maury.

"The hereditary influence of these men is apparent in the beautiful work of this gifted young woman, whose unusual training and education have contributed to her success. Miss Church studied with Beard, the animal painter, and Alphonse Mucha, the great designer, of Paris."

Miss Church then submitted her ideas for designs for the monument, which were received with enthusiasm. Some pertinent discussion followed during which, on motion of Mr. Hart, Mr. Alden McClelland and General Booth, and, on motion of Miss King, Mrs. Charles Lessassier were added to the Bienville Monument Committee.

Just before the motion to adjourn was put, Mrs. Friedericks again brought up the question of the St. Louis Hotel dome, praying for some action by the Society. General Booth proposed that the President of the Society collaborate with the ladies in their effort. Mr. Cusachs consenting; this was carried unanmously. The Society then adjourned.

The names of the new members elected at this meeting were ordered to be added to the minutes:

Rev. P. M. H. Wyndhoven	P. Sefton Schneidau
Miss Emelie DeLavigne	Benjamin C. Brown
Mrs. M. Seebold Molinary	Edward S. Luria
Mrs. Charles LeSassier	J. T. Buddecke
James Wilkinson	Roger Arnauld

MEETING OF APRIL, 1916.

The regular monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society took place April 19, with Mr. Cusachs, chairman, Robert Glenk, secretary, and a large audience present. The minutes of the last meeting were read and, after corrections, approved.

The following persons were placed in nomination for membership in the Society by Mr. Hart, and were unanimously elected:

G. A. Foster
R. W. Frame
John B. Murphy
Sam'l A. Trufant, Jr.
Mrs. Ben. S. Story
Dr. L. M. Provosty
E. S. Ferguson
Abraham Goldberg
Edward C. Palmer
Mrs. Emilie Lejeune
Miss Virginia Torre
Dr. H. B. Seebold
Frank C. Fegley
Charles LeSassier
A. T. Terry
Miss A. D. Nesom
Mrs. Jas. Wilkinson

The feature of the evening was the reading of a paper, "The Opera in New Orleans," by Harry Brunswig Loeb.

It was evident that Mr. Loeb had carefully prepared his paper and it was well received. On motion duly seconded and carried, a vote of thanks was accorded Mr. Loeb and the paper was ordered printed in the Society's Proceedings.

Mr. Edgar Grima presented some notes in regard to the municipal support of theatres and opera in New Orleans in former days, which are also to be incorporated in the Society's publications.

An invitation to the Society to send delegates to attend the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the City of Newark, N. J., by the New Jersey Historical Society, was read and, on motion duly seconded and carried, the President, authorized to appoint delegates residing in New York City, who are members of the Louisiana Historical Society, named Dr. Browne, Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stewart, Mr. and Mrs. Chas. LeSassier.

W. O. Hart announced that Theodore Grunewald had offered to have painted and placed upon one of the large panels of the lobby of the Hotel Grunewald any picture connected with the history of Louisiana the Society may select. According to reso-

lution, the subject probably will be a picture of Bienville, the founder of New Orleans. The following committee was appointed to confer with Mr. Grunewald: Judge Charles F. Claiborne, John Dymond, W. O. Hart, A. B. Booth and Mrs. M. Seebold Molinary.

Mr. Dymond reported on behalf of the Bienville Memorial Committee, of which Mayor Behrman is chairman, saying that no further progress was made in collecting funds and that nothing had been done toward selecting a sketch for the monument, Miss Church having gone back to New York.

Mr. Hart read a resolution presented by the American Peace Centenary Committee.

Mrs. Emelie Lejeune, at the request of Mr. W. O. Hart, gave some personal reminiscences of the opera on the occasion of the visit of the Grand Duke Alexis of Prussia in 1872 during the performance of "Il Trovatore."

On motion of Mr. John Dymond, the thanks of the Society were extended to Mrs. Lejeune, and she was asked to write her story for publication in the Proceedings.

The meeting then adjourned.

THE OPERA IN NEW ORLEANS

A Historical Sketch from the Earliest Days Through Season 1914-15.

By HARRY BRUNSWICK LOEB,
Music Critic, New Orleans Item.

A gentleman, who is in a position to know, told me that, when the French Opera Association went into the hands of a receiver, the important newspapers throughout the country carried the news. This same gentleman, whose travels lead him from ocean to ocean, stated that wherever he passed he heard expressions of surprise and regret regarding the plight of the time-honored institution. Shortly after the operatic crash, the Musical Courier of New York, the largest musical journal in the world, devoted the first two and one-third pages of its issue of December 16, 1915, to an article entitled "What New Orleans Has Done for French Opera." Right here in this city I heard various comments inspired by the unfortunate operatic conditions. From one: "So the old French Opera's all over with now. Well, you know, the companies of late have been very poor." From another: "People don't care for opera any more; they'd rather dance." From still another, "We're tired of that old repertory, that shabby chorus, that poor ballet, and that awful scenery."

I mention the above for no reason other than to show you how our opera is regarded abroad and at home. I hope, after having given you a brief historical sketch of it, to make you see why we should all be proud of an institution which, for more than a century, placed this city conspicuously upon the musical map of the world.

In writing of opera in New Orleans, the difficulty lay not in finding material interesting enough to write about, but in selecting, from the great collections of fascinating records, such facts as were best adaptable to the purpose at hand. As Mr. Louis C. Elson, the distinguished Boston critic, remarks in his book, "American Music," "To describe opera in New Orleans would require a ponderous volume in itself." So, briefly:

Note.—This sketch is largely based upon an article entitled "What New Orleans Has Done for French Opera," specially written for the Musical Courier of New York by Mr. Loeb and published by that journal in its issue of December 16, 1915.

Operatic history in this city begins during the last years of the eighteenth century, at the time that Washington was President of the United States, that Estevan Miró was Governor of Louisiana, that the population of New Orleans, numbering about five thousand, diverted itself at the Spectacle de la Rue St. Pierre, situated on the ground floor of the house in St. Peter street now bearing the number 716.

Louis Tabary was the first manager of the Spectacle de la Rue St. Pierre, having brought from Europe as early as 1791 a company of comedians who were doubtless glad to fill an engagement in what must have seemed to them a splendid shelter after the nomadic life they had been leading—playing now under a roof, now in a tent, and often al fresco. Of the doings at the "Spectacle" there is very little of importance to chronicle. We learn from W. H. Coleman's "Historical Sketch Book and Guide" that "in 1799 half a dozen actors and actresses, refugees from the insurrection in San Domingo, gave acceptable performances, rendering comedy, drama, vaudeville, and comic opera." The insurrection referred to, I might say parenthetically, was the uprising of the plantation slaves against the whites. The mulattos of San Domingo, from whom their recently-given civil rights had been withdrawn, joined the slaves, and there followed a long period of turmoil during which many atrocities were perpetrated.

The year 1807 finds "Le Spectacle de la Rue St. Pierre" still in existence but in a very dilapidated state. An idea of this primitive theatre may be had from a description of it as "a long, low, wooden structure, built of cypress, and alarmingly exposed to the dangers of fire." We learn that M. Terrier had charge of it, that his regime was a short and unsuccessful one, and that by the end of the year, due to a wrangle between the rabble and the police, the amusement-place was closed. The performances having been discontinued and the building being in so wretched a condition as to evoke complaints, a syndicate erected "Le Théâtre St. Pierre" on the old site.

This new theatre opened its doors on September 14, 1808, with a three-act melodrama entitled, "Le Prince Tékéli, ou Le Siège de Montgatz," followed by a one-act opera, "Le Secret." But

it was destined to a short life, for, on December 28, 1810, it fell under the auctioneer's hammer. The "dead-head" problem was evidently worthy of consideration even in those early days, juding from the following, taken from Le Moniteur de la Louisiane of September 3, 1808:

"All free admissions are withdrawn; the stockholders alone are excepted, and those who are to enjoy the privilege will be advised by the administration before the day of the opening."

An advertisement in the same paper under date of December 30, 1809, reads:

"Théâtre de la Rue St. Pierre—Dimanche prochain, Le Collatéral, ou La Diligence de Joigny, comedie en cinq actes de Picard, suivie de 'I'Amour Filial ou La Jambe de Bois,' opera en un acte de Gaveaux."

I quote this to show the important role which the inevitable subtitle played in the early days, and not for the purpose of inquiring into the librettist's reasons for associating "filial love" and a "wooden leg."

We now pass to the Théâtre St. Philippe and the Théâtre d'Orléans. In the year 1810, New Orleans had three theatres—the two just named and Le Théâtre St. Pierre, which, as we have seen, passed into history on December 28 of that year.

The Théâtre St. Philippe, erected at a cost of $100,000, at the end of the year 1807, occupied the site of the present St. Philip School. It was a pretentious theatre for those days, having a seating capacity of 700. Louis Tabary again looms up as impressario and inaugurates the new edifice on Saturday, January 30, 1808, with a performance of the one-act comedy, "Les Fausses Consultations," followed by Méhul's two-act opera, "D'une Folie," words by Bouilly. Shortly before the opening of this theatre, the appended notice appeared in Le Moniteur de la Louisiane, showing that then, as now, the public had to be coaxed and pampered:

"St. Philip Street Theatre.—The administration has the honor to announce to the public that the opening of this theatre will take place very shortly.

"Consequently, it invites those persons who desire to subscribe by the month or by the year, or to rent boxes, to go to the administrative bureau, open every day from 10 o'clock in the morning till 2 o'clock, where they will be given full information regarding the subscription.

"The administration, desiring to respond to the interest which the stockholders have been good enough to take in this enterprise, and wishing at the same time to please the public by every possible effort, has neglected nothing in order to give to its performances all the variety, ensemble, and splendor which constitute the chief merit of those kinds of spectacles. The vast size of the theatre will permit it to add to its repertoire, consisting of old and new comedies of good authors and operas by the best composers, mechanical ballets and pantomimes, the performance of which is entrusted to persons skilled in that line. The measures which it has taken to secure new artists for whom it is waiting, the commodiousness and salubrity of the interior of the theatre, its various exits, all make the administration hope that the public will be good enough to encourage the untiring efforts it will make to please them. The administrative office is at the theatre proper. For the administration, (signed) LOUIS DOUVILLIER."

These were some of the offerings at this theatre: "The Barber of Seville" followed "Dettes," opera in two acts by Champein; "The Reciprocal Test" followed by the "Death of Captain Cook;" "The Recovered Husband," comedy in one act by Dancour, followed by a "Divertissement un dancer," in which Mr. Francisqui will be the chief dancer; "The Glorious One," followed by the "Ballet of the Quakers;" "The Little City," comedy in four acts by Picard, followed by the "Stormy Night," opera in one act.

Later years found this erstwhile temple of art degenerated into a sort of circus and finally into a dance hall known as the Washington Ballroom.

The Théâtre d'Orléans was begun in early 1809. On November 30 of the same year it opened with a comedy called "Pataques." Destroyed by fire in 1813, a new theatre was erected on the old site in 1817, upon the solicitation of John Davis, a manager. The architecture was Doric and the building represented a cost of $80,000. It contained a parquet, two tiers of boxes, and "loges grillés" (latticed boxes), the last "intended to be occupied by persons in mourning, who, without being seen, might witness the performance in comfort," as Mr. J. de Baroncelli informs us in his interesting essay, "Opera Français de la Nouvelle Orleans."

No drama ever enacted upon its stage was as thrilling as the one which it presented on February 26, 1854. A large audience was witnessing the performance when, suddenly, the side boxes of the "Secondes" and "Troisièmes" collapsed upon the first tier of boxes, causing a terrible panic which cost several persons their lives. This excerpt from the Daily Picayune of February 27, 1854, is pertinent:

"The accident originated in the giving away of the third gallery to the left of the stage, on the side toward Royal street. The gallery is occupied by colored people and was attached to the rafters of the ceiling by iron bars. It was also connected with the second gallery by slight iron columns. * * * The theatre was crowded for the benefit of a favorite performer, Mr. Carrier, the low comedian. The second act of the first piece was drawing to its close when a sharp report, like that of a musket, startled the audience. Many thought it was some incident to the play itself. But in another moment a universal cry of alarm, a general rising, a rush, the cracking and crashing of timbers, the screams of women and shouts of men, told too plainly another tale. * * * Several persons who witnessed the gradual fall of the two galleries, the efforts of the struggling and appalled mass of human beings in them to escape, and the appearance of the rest of the theatre at the same moment, described it as something utterly paralyzing and horrifying—exceeding any steamboat explosion of conflagration, or railroad catastrophe they ever witnessed."

In 1859 the Thèâtre d'Orléans was sold to a Mr. Parlange. This gentleman and the manager, M. Boudousquié, not being able to come to an agreement regarding terms of rental, the latter set out to organize a stock company of $100,000 for the purpose of erecting another home for opera. With Mr. Rivière Gardère as president, the new company was formed on March 4, 1859. A little more than a month later a contract was signed with the architects, Gallier & Esterbrook, for the construction of the present French Opera House. Although begun as late as June, the building was inaugurated on Thursday evening, December 1, with a performance of "William Tell." To accomplish this feat of rapid construction, strenuous efforts were resorted to. Work was pursued by day and night, and, in order to facilitate the night work, permission was obtained from the city authorities by the builder, a Mr. Villavaso, to keep large fires burning at

the corner of Toulouse and Bourbon streets. In its completed state, the French Opera House cost $118,500. Its seating capacity is 2078—58 stockholders' seats, 1520 numbered seats, and 500 unreserved in the fourth gallery. Naturally the opening of the new lyric temple was the event of the hour. I subjoin an extract from the Daily Picayune supplement of December 3, 1859:

"Of course, the opening of the New French Opera House was the event of the evening, and it was not a surprise to any one, we imagine to find it as full as it could hold, from the first row parquet to the very ceiling. The coup de'oeil presented by the auditorium, when viewed from the center of the parquet, was superb indeed. The house is constructed so as to afford full view of the audience from almost every point, and its gracefully curved tiers of boxes, rising one above the other, each gradually receding from the line of the other, and then filled, in a great degree, with ladies in grande toilette, presented a spectacle that was richly worth viewing. * * * The whole house is painted white and the decorations of the fronts of the boxes are in gold. * * * A magnificent mirror on each side of the proscenium adds greatly to the picturesque effect of the auditorium. The entrances to the house are numerous, spacious, and commodious, and the crush, ladies' retiring rooms, etc., are constructed upon a scale of great elegance."

The cast at the overture of the opera included Mlle. Feitlinber, lyric soprano; Mme. Berthil Marchal, dugazon; M. Matthieu, first tenor; M. Chas. Petit, light tenor; M. Melschisedec, baritone; M. Genibrel, first bass of grand opera; M. Vanloir, first bass of opera comique.

L'Abeille said: "Mlle. Feitlinger is a charming artiste who will soon become a great favorite with the public. She possesses a very pretty voice and a fine talent as a singer." * * * "Mr. Matthieu is, to our thinking, an artist of immense worth. He delivers the recitatif with a magisterial bigness and transmits to the auditor the emotion he experiences. In a word, he feels deeply and expresses himself deeply." * * * "Mr. Melchisedec, the baritone, possesses the most beautiful instrument which we have heard in a long time."

On the same night that the French Opera opened its doors, Thomas' "Le Songe d'une Nuit D'été" (Midsummer Night's Dream) was performed at the Théâtre d'Orléans for the debut of M. Cabel, first light tenor, who assumed the role of Shak-

speare, and of whom we read: "This artist has a good and well-trained voice, sweet and sympathetic and not lacking power. He showed himself an excellent comedian. * * *"

The French Opera House at once became popular. Season 1860-61 was most brilliant. During the months of January, February and March (1861), Adelina Patti, the then 18-year-old prima donna, charmed her audiences in "Robert le Diable," "Il Trovatore," "Les Huguenots," "Lucia," "Charles VI," "Le Pardon de Ploermel" and other operas. Among her fellow-artists at this time were Mme. Frezzolini and MM. Mathieu and Philippe. An advertisement appears in the Daily Picayune of January 23, 1861, announcing:

"Le Barbier de Seville, with Mlle. Adelina Patti, who in the lesson scenes will sing Mme. Sontag's celebrated 'Echo Song' and the Scottish ballad, ' 'Twas Within a Mile of Edinboro' Town.' "

In the same advertisement, we note that the prices ranged from 50 cents to $1.50 and that "Doors open at 6:30 o'clock, performance to commence at 7 o'clock." It was evidently cheaper to hear grand opera in those days than now!

On account of the Civil War, four rather inconsequential seasons followed the brilliant season of 1860-61. After the termination of the war, three brothers, Alhaiza by name, opened the French Opera House with an itinerant company. Their venture proving successful, they were emboldened to import from Europe a complete operatic organization, and, accordingly, Charles and Marcelin Alhaiza set sail for Paris. The company was engaged, all arrangements completed, when, on the eve of departure for America, Marcelin Alhaiza died. Charles Alhaiza accompanied the artists to New York, where they embarked upon a steamer named "The Evening Star," bound for this city—a destination which it was never to reach; for, on October 3, 1866, the vessel was overcome by a raging storm at a point 180 miles southeast of Tybee Island. How many lives were lost has never been definitely known. One writer claims that "thirty men and one woman alone reached land, but over three hundred souls perished, among the number the members of the opera troupe and its manager, Charles Alhaiza." The total

number of persons aboard the ill-fated ship has been placed by another writer as only 278. Mr. Gallier, the architect, was among the victims.

The sinking of "The Evening Star" was the more tragic but by no means only important even in the operatic history of 1866. Despite the rise of the new opera house, the old Théâtre d'Orléans continued its existence, attracting a splendid clientele and maintaining its standard. Doubtless it would have been a powerful rival to the younger house had not another calamity terminated its existence. On December 7, in the early morning, "flames were discovered in the wardrobe. Spreading rapidly, the dressing rooms were speedily enveloped, and, before assistance could be rendered, the entire building was in a blaze." In a short while the old edifice was "a mass of smouldering brick and mortar."

To revert to the present French Opera House: The surviving Alhaiza, Paul, opened it on November 9, 1866, with the Strakosch-Ghinoni and Susini Company, Amalia Patti, sister of Adelina, singing the contralto roles.

From 1859 to 1915, excepting the interruptions caused by the Civil War, six seasons at different periods when the theatre remained dark, and the season 1904-5, when a French dramatic company held the boards—the French Opera House continued to offer operatic entertainments. The season 1885-86 was entirely devoted to opera bouffe, during which Alice and Tony Reine were the two remarkable stars. The dramatic company mentioned above was a high class one, composed, as it was, of members from several of the best theatres of France, and counting in its personnel such artists as MM. Perrin, Dulac, Bréant and Mme. Renot.

It may not be amiss at this moment to mention the managers of the French Opera from 1859 through seasons 1914-15. These were Davis and Boudousquie, Ghioni and Susini, Alhaiza, Alhaiza and Calabresi, Canonge, Pappenheim, Durand, Max Strakosch, De Bauplan, Desfossés, Mapleson, Durieu, Maugé, O'Connel, Charley, Berriel, Roberval, Cazelles (dramatic company), Brulatour, Russell, Lombardi, Layolle, Affre and Sigaldi. Several of these directed the opera for a long period.

For the benefit of those who do not know why the opera association went into the hands of a receiver, I mention the reasons as given to me by a gentleman closely in touch with that institution. To begin with, there was no lessee for the season 1915-16, which fact deprived the association of a fair revenue. Then several of the ten carnival organizations, whose rental of the Opera House for their annual balls was a good source of income, asked for a substantial reduction of the old fee, and of these ten organizations only a small number actually had signed for the auditorium up to the time of the crisis. The third cause was the great expense undergone in compliance with the rat-proofing ordinance. The climax of this deplorable state of affairs was contributed by the storm of September 29, 1915, which damaged the old building considerably.

I have heard it remarked on several occasions in the past that the French Opera hindered the musical growth of New Orleans. Looking at the matter frankly, I am reluctantly forced to admit that the French Opera did, to a degree, deprive this city of a variety of musical pabulum. In the first place, the subscriptions to the opera consumed almost all the money that music lovers cared to spend on music, thus precluding the establishment of a symphony orchestra, without which no city can strictly call itself a music centre. Then, too, the predilection for opera, due to years of education in this line of music, made concert-giving a very hazardous undertaking, with the result that the local public only at rare intervals were afforded the opportunity of hearing piano, violin, and 'cello recitals, or chamber music, or the great song literature of France, Germany, and Russia. And the whole trouble lay in the length of the opera season. Of latter days, when concerts began to be more encouraged, the question of dates was a very serious matter. For three months no concerts could be given on Tuesdays, Thursdays or Saturdays, not only because of the altruistic desire to avoid a conflict of attractions, but also because, in a city of this size, it is practically always the same little band of music lovers which is depended upon to attend all the musical offerings. "But," you will say, "there were left Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays for concerts." As a large number of

the local patrons of music are of the Jewish faith, and as many of these observe Friday evenings, these evenings would not be suitable for concerts. There are many persons of other faiths who will not attend places of amusement—even concert halls—on Sundays, so Sunday would be a bad selection. Matinees, at least "musical" matinees, do not draw, as we all know. So here we were left with Monday and Wednesday evenings, provided that no bridge, or dinner dance, or reception, or ball were booked for either of these nights. Remember that in New Orleans we have no considerable floating population from which to draw; it is always, as I have said, the same little band to which we must turn for our audiences.

I, personally, am a devotee of opera, and am proud of what our French opera has meant to us. I should love to see the opera flourish as in the days our fathers tell about, but the only way this can be realized is by curtailing the three months' season to a one-month season, at the utmost. I know that no French company can be imported for less than five months, but there are other fine organizations which would give great pleasure, even if the operas should be sung in a language other than French. By having one month of opera, all interest would be centered upon it and a brilliant season would result. The time prior and after "opera month" could be devoted to concerts and other forms of diversion.

Despite the truths I have stated in detriment to the opera, I realize how we Orleanians should be proud of it. Admitting that it did, to an extent, deprive us of a greater variety of musical attractions, we should not forget the name it gave this city all over the world. I wonder whether a symphony orchestra holding, say, ten concerts a season with fine soloists, would have placed us as prominently on the musical map as did the French Opera. Several cities have had symphony orchestras, several have had great conecerts for years, but there were only two cities in the United States, until comparatively recently, which supported opera, and New Orleans, with its maintenance of French opera, stood unique. Do not for a moment construe these remarks as in any way intending to disparage the establishment of a symphony orchestra, for I hope to see founded here one

which will command the respect and admiration of the entire country. But the fact is that I love opera and experience a thrill of pride when I look back into the history of our local operatic institution. I know that of late years the companies brought here were, with very few exceptions, of mediocre calibre, but were they ever so very poor as to afford no pleasure or give no culture? Realize what a cultural influence the opera was to this community. Although it retarded our better acquaintance with *some* of the other forms of music, nevertheless it quickened our appreciation of ALL the forms of musical art by familiarizing us thoroughly with the works of many of the foremost masters. It is a splendid thing for an opera lover residing way down in Dixie land to be able to discuss intelligently with a cultured New Yorker, Londoner, Parisian, or Berliner a series of operas ranging from "Il Barbiere di Siviglia" to "Siberia" and "Don Quichotte." When asked his opinion of "Cendrillon" and "La Vivandière," the Orleanian of average culture does not have to wonder whether these peculiarly sounding things are hair restorers or new brands of perfume. Indeed, it might be said with a degree of assurance that the opera lover of moderate means residing in New Orleans knows more operatic music than does the opera lover in similar circumstances residing in any other American city supporting opera. Why? The reason is simple. For twenty-five cents during these latter days and for ten cents in days gone by, the opera lover could hear a grand opera in the "quatrièmes" (fourth tier). Is it a wonder, then, that he gratified his love for opera night after night, season after season? Many a real connoisseur has acquired his operatic educations in the "secondes," where an excellent seat could be purchased for 75 cents. On Sunday matinees, for very many years, a grand opera could be witnessed at a cost of $1 for the best seat. No wonder that so many operas are familiar to us. No wonder that, at social gatherings, gifted amateurs, without the least degree of vanity, will sing solos, duos, trios, etc., from many of the difficult operas in a manner that some professional singers might emulate.

It is quite evident that interest in local opera has waned. And yet, the most lethargic opera goer cannot but feel stirred

when he recalls that on the French Opera House stage have appeared such tenors as Tournié, Berger, Lafarge, Cossiri, Paulin, Gibert, Bonnard, Jérome, Duc, Constantino, Escalais, Fontaine, Affre; such sopranos as Fursch-Madie Ambre, Patti, Lematte, Hervey, Martini, Baux, Jau-Boyer, Foedor, Fiérens, Pacary, Padovani, Madier de Montjau, Korsoff; such baritones as Devoyod, Dumestre, Claverie, Albers, Mézy, Layolle; such bassos as Castelmary, Chavaroche, Bouxman, Van Hufflen, Huberty; such contraltos as Audibert, Adelaide Phillips, Scalchi, Flachat, Duvivier, Bressler-Gianoli. Many of these names may mean nothing to the younger generation, but hear the older habitues speak with enthusiasm of their Tournie, Devoyod, Dumestre, Castelmary; of their Patti, Fursch-Madi, Ambre, Audibert!

Let the younger generation recall performances of "La Reine de Saba" with Fiérens; "Salambo" with Pecary and Layolle; "La Navarraise" with Foedor and Albers; "La Traviata" and "Manon" with Montjau and Bonnard; "Lakmé" with Jérome; "Le Jongleur" with Nuibo; "Romeo et Juliette" with Affre; "La Juive" with Duc; "Lucie" with Korsoff; "Sigurd" with Paulin and later with Fontaine; "Carmen" with Bressler-Gianoli; "Madame Butterfly" with Yerna and Cortez, and "Rigoletto" with Mézy—to name but a very few of the beautiful performances offered us—and witness their admission of the delights they experienced.

No doubt to Americans outside of New Orleans, even the names of many of the artists mentioned are quite unknown; but this is no argument against their worth. In France and Belgium—two countries which have not been neglectful of the fine arts, as every one will admit—these singers are far from being unknown quantities.

It was on the French Opera House stage, as we have seen, that Adelina Patti scored her early successes and where, according to a writer, her genius "received the stamp of approval that made it recognized throughout the capitals of the old world." It was on this same stage that Constantino and Riccardo Martin, whom Boston and New York later applauded, won their first American plaudits. It was after having been acclaimed on this stage that Mme. Bressler-Gianoli joined the Manhattan and Chi-

cago Opera House forces, and that baritone Albers and tenor Gilbert became members of the Grau Opera Company. It was this stage which introduced to America Reyer's "Sigurd" and "Salambo;" Massenet's "Herodiade," "Cendrillon," "Esclarmonde," and "Don Quichotte;" Saint-Saens' "Sampson et Dalila," Giordano's "Siberia," Gounod's "La Reine de Saba"—to recall but a few of the important American "premières" held on its boards. It was New Orleans that first introduced French and Italian opera into America. It was New Orleans, too, of all American cities, that first established opera permanently.

REMINISCENCES OF THE FRENCH OPERA.

By Mrs. Emilie Lejeune.

After Mr. Loeb's discourse, there is very little to say about the French Opera of New Orleans; still, I should like to tell you of the many pleasant hours which I have spent there. As it is impracticable to do so, I will speak only of the most brilliant performance which it was my good fortune to witness within its historic walls, and I will endeavor to analyze the circumstances which made it memorable.

1. It took place in the early spring. To you I will not describe the charm of our spring-tide, for you have seen the splendor of our skies and the beauty of our flowers.

2. Our people, through all vicissitudes, retain the happy faculty of laying down their burdens, and making-believe that they are free from care and responsibility. It has become one of our social rituals; once a year we enter the kingdom of make-believe and pretend that we are joyous and happy—and who will say that we are not wise to do so.

3. I was almost a child, and gazed through the rose-tinted prism of youth.

4. We had that year, in 1872, an excellent troupe of French singers, whose names still linger in our memory: Levielli, Delabranche, Dumestre, Coulon, are names that are still remembered among us.

5. Also, in that year, New Orleans entertained a distinguished guest—his Imperial Highness, the Grand-Duke Alexis of Russia—and it was known that he would visit our Opera House on the Monday preceding Mardi Gras, and Verdi's "Trovatore," a universal favorite, was to be given.

Our box, a loge-grille (latticed box), commanded a view of the stage and proscenium boxes, and opened at the rear of the foyer, and from this coign of vantage nothing could escape my observant eyes.

The house, filled with a typical opera audience, in holiday mood, presented a beautiful appearance, for in the point-lace and diamonds, the flounces and furbelows of the period, women resembled animated flowers, while Gibson had not yet made it fashionable for men to be gaunt and hollow-eyed.

The proscenium boxes remained empty during the first act, but in the second act, after the Anvil Chorus, we were told that the Grand Duke had arrived, in a victoria upholstered in ruby satin and drawn by a superb pair of greys, which Mayor Flanders had placed at his disposal.

The performance was halted, the chorus and principal singers remaining on the stage, and from the rear entrance of our box, where I stood expectant, this is what I saw:

First came an afficial, holding aloft two bronze candlesticks and walking backwards. I had never seen anyone do that—it was interesting. Then came a blue-eyed giant—that was still more interesting, for I did not know they were found outside of story-books. The giant—I mean, the Grand Duke Alexis—was 6 feet 3 or 4 inches tall; in fact, quite as tall as his kinsman, the Grand Duke Nicholas, whose picture has recently become familiar to us. He was followed by his suite—an admiral, an excellency, the officers of his household; and they proceeded to the proscenium boxes, where they remained standing while the orchestra, led by Calabresi, played the Russian national hymn, after which the audience, which had risen to receive the Prince, greeted him with applause as hearty as it was dignified.

Everyone was then seated and the performance was resumed, the Grand Duke seemingly as much interested in the audience as with the artists, whom he frequently applauded, remained

until the dreary climax which ends the Trovatore, when all the members of the cast die suddenly and painfully. The tenor, as you no doubt remember, is beheaded; the contralto is burned alive; the soprano takes poison, and the barytone succumbs, presumably to heart failure. Still, such is the witchery of music, that, quite unsaddened by so dire a calamity, the audience gaily repaired to the St. Charles Hotel, where the Grand Duke was stopping, to sup under the same roof with royalty.

The impressions of childhood are so vivid that, although I have since then witnessed many operatic events, this that I have told you of has remained unique in my remembrance.

MUNICIPAL SUPPORT OF THEATRES AND OPERAS IN NEW ORLEANS.

Mr. Edgar Grima.

In November, 1836, the Council of Municipality No. 1 adopted a resolution, by a vote of more than two-thirds, whereby the Mayor, notwithstanding his veto, was authorized and required to subscribe $200,000 to the capital of the New Orleans Theatre Company, in shares of $100 each. To pay this subscription the Mayor was directed to give to the directors of the company 400 bonds of the municipality for $500 each, payable thirty years after date, bearing interest at 6%, payable semi-annually.

The New Orleans Theatre Company had been incorporated by the Legislature in March, 1836, and the object of the Council in making this subscription is stated to have been to aid in the construction of a large theatre in the municipality which would contribute to its wealth and embellishment, and afford a place of relaxation and amusement that would tend to correct the morals and enlighten the minds of the citizens. In the month of March, 1837, the Legislature passed an act whereby the First Municipality was recognized as stockholders in the company and were authorized to make marine and fire risks in the same manner as the Merchants' Insurance Company. (Act 83 of 1837, p. 81, approved March 11, 1837.)

In 1838 a dividend was made, and the sum of $6,000 was paid into the treasury of the municipality, as its portion of the profits. Before the municipality subscribed the $200,000, the Orleans Theatre Company had purchased the (present) site of the Orleans Theatre and had commenced insurance operations.

This suit was brought to annul the subscription made in obedience to the resolution of the Council in 1836, to recover back the bonds issued in conformity thereto and the sum of $16,500 paid as interest on them, on the grounds that the Council in 1836 had no right or authority to pass the resolution directing the subscription to the stock; that the power delegated to the said assembly was transcended and violated, whereby the act or resolution had become void and of no binding force.

It was further alleged that the resolution was of no effect, as the company had abandoned the intention of erecting a new theatre, and had purchased the old one, which it had repaired at a heavy expense.

The defendants in this suit averred that the resolution of the Council authorizing the subscription of $200,000 was legal and binding; that the bonds had been appropriated in the manner authorized by law and were vested in the corporation of which the plaintiffs were members; that contracts with third parties had been based on the faith of them; that the intention of building a new theatre was not abandoned, but was delayed by the institution of the suit; and, further, that plaintiffs had not in any way called on them to build the same, although represented in its board of directors.

By act of March 14, 1816 (B. and C. Digest, p. 101, Sec. 1), the corporation of the City of New Orleans was vested with the power "to permit or to forbid theatres, balls, or other public amusements."

In rendering its decision in favor of the municipality the Court said: "Whatever may be our opinion as to the policy that dictated this measure, we are constrained to say that it is sanctioned by law, and cannot now be repudiated."—The First Municipality of the City of New Orleans vs. The Orleans Theatre Company, 2 Rob'n, p. 209, et seq.

The New Orleans Theatre Company, afterward named the Orleans Theatre Company (the "Compagnie du Téâtre d'Orléans" in the French text, and the "St. Charles Theatre, Arcade and Arcade Baths Company" were incorporated by Act No. 85 of 1836, of the Legislature, approved March 14, 1836, p. 165.

The object is not stated in the act.

By act of the Legislature, approved March 11, 1837, being Act No. 83 of said year, p. 81, Sec. 1, these two companies were invested with all the rights and powers granted to the Merchants' Insurance Company of New Orleans, as far as regards the power granted on marine and fire insurance.

The first Orleans Theatre had been constructed in 1809.

At that time the State and the city often gave their act to corporations formed for the development of the resources of this State or for works of public improvement and utility, such as railroads, banks, canal companies and the like.

NOTES ON GENERAL WILKINSON'S MEMORIAL AND MIRO AND NAVARRO'S DISPATCH No. 13.

By Mr. Gilbert Pemberton.

When the American Revolution ended and liberated its armies from the sanguinary task of expelling Great Britain from the colonies, thus allowing its manhood to seek the more peaceful pursuits of constructive labor and trade, Kentucky, then a dependency of Virginia, had to have free access to the Mississippi River, which Spain then controlled, in order to subsist, and emigration into the Spanish colonies of Louisiana and Western Florida was at a standstill and their development retarded by Spanish conservatism, which favored the more Castillian colony of Mexico.

A short time after this, Esteban Miro, the idealist and dreamer, while still under the spell of the brilliant achievements of his impulsive and dashing chief, Don Bernardo de Galvez, whose conquest of Pensacola had inspired his former aide-de-camp with the desire of great deeds, became Governor of West-

ern Florida and Louisiana. Ably seconded by the shrewd Intendente, Don Martin Navarro, both sought to perfect plans for the development of their provinces, and were thus engaged when there entered upon the scene, in July, 1787, an enterprising genius in the person of Brigadier General James Wilkinson, retired, who, whilst traveling for the ostensible purpose of commerce (he brought several barges laden with Kentucky tobacco to justify his mission), really came down on a political mission as far reaching in its possibilities as any that had as yet been conceived by the men of that time.

The daring brilliancy of Wilkinson's plan, its vastness, the masterly manner in which he presented it, and the irrefutable arguments which he advanced in support of his scheme for an empire, which would have startled the world and changed the destiny of millions of people, bewildered, then dazzled good Don Esteban, and he immediately became one of its staunchest supporters, all for the honor and glory of his God and king. So with Martin Navarro, but for other reasons. Brought up in a different school, he saw in Wilkinson's project untold power and wealth for Spain and urged its accomplishment from the standpoint of a good administrator.

Post-revolutionary conditions made a promoter of Wilkinson, and he was a clever promoter, a plausible one. One with an imagination vivid enough to enable him to go beyond the promotion of world's fairs, banks and railroads or the analogous projects of his day, to the promotion of nothing less than an empire. Brilliant, dashing, of fine address and appearance and remarkably talented, he favorably impressed all those with whom he came in contact. Miro was delighted with him; so was Navarro. The former saw him through the eyes of Don Quixote, and good old Don Martin hastened to arrange loans for Wilkinson with the merchants of New Orleans, so as to enable him to better further the interests of the king and thus lay the foundation for the empire which the three had agreed was indispensable to the security of Spain and the happiness and prosperity of the people of Kentucky, Louisiana and Western Florida, and which, had their plans carried out, would have made New Orleans the greatest city of the North American continent.

But what was this empire? It was the union of Kentucky, Cumberland, Franklin and other settlements of the Ohio west of the Appalachian Mountains; their separation from the jurisdiction of the United States, and the welding of them to Louisiana and Western Florida, thus grouping in one marvelous whole the richest country under the sun, with the Mississippi and its tributaries reaching out in every direction to afford easy and cheap transportation to the sea. By this simple operation the United States (whose aggressiveness worried Spain considerably) would be confined within the borders of the original colonies; Great Britain, who looked upon all this territory with covetous eyes, would also be kept within the confines of her Canadian boundaries, and Spain would become the controlling power in North as well as South America, with an impregnable barrier to protect the kingdom of Mexico, "whose silver," Wilkinson very aptly says, in his memorial, "is an object of universal temptation," against any attempt on the part of Great Britain to invade or disturb the said kingdom. At the same time New Orleans was to become a free port through which all the wealth of the above country was to find an outlet, and altogether the thing had been thought out so that while none of the glitter and glamour would be eliminated, yet, that the whole argument should rest upon sound principles of good politics. The plan itself was practical and based on circumstances as they then existed, *i. e.*, dissatisfaction of the western settlements with the Federal government, who favored the Atlantic coast states against the western people, and economic conditions resulting therefrom, threatening ruin and misery for Kentucky and the aforesaid settlements without any apparent disposition on the part of Congress to pass measures to relieve their distress. The enterprise would have been carried out, except for the dilatory tactics of the Court of Spain and the jealousy of Don Diego de Gardoqui, the then minister of Spain to the United States, for this worthy undoubtedly used his influence to delay action. This is an inference suggested by the correspondence of all the parties, rather than a statement of fact. Further, as Wilkinson's and Miro's carefully laid plans developed, we find a host of rival bidders for the same object which Wilkinson's brain had conceived, and all these did great honor to his talents by imitating but never equalling him.

The said Memorial and Despatch No. 13 have only recently been found in the archives of the Louisiana Historical Society. They were immediately translated and have never been published. They disclose the spirit in which Wilkinson conceived his dream of empire and the reasons and circumstances that prompted the notables of Kentucky to send him to New Orleans to try to enlist Spain in behalf of the neglected settlements of the Ohio. The correspondence which follows is of the same high order. Some of it has been published, and some has just been translated. There are still about four hundred pages in the original Spanish which shed much light upon this episode of our history.

But to go back to Wilkinson: In reviewing, in his Memorial, the political and economic conditions of Kentucky and the western settlements, their discontent with the Federal government, their growing power and the danger that Spain would naturally incur if these settlements would consolidate and accept the advances of Great Britain, which nation, since the close of the Revolution had been constantly intriguing to separate them from the United States, he epitomizes his whole argument in the following "facts and inferences:"

"First: That the American settlements, whose rivers flow into the Mississippi, are powerful and, on account of their nature, irresistible, and should daily increase in strength."

"Second: That the navigation of the Mississippi is the fountain from which they (the Kentuckians) must hope for future relief and comfort, in consequence of which each individual is of himself attentive to this object, and through the powerful incentive of self-preservation will employ any means, no matter how desperate, to attain it."

"Third. That, in order to promote this much desired end, they are working to separate themselves from the American Union, and that Congress has neither the power nor the inclination to prevent this measure."

"Fourth: That the notables of these new settlements are considering two projects, either one of which they believe can be conducive to the success of this, their favorite object, *i. e.*, an amicable arrangement with Spain, or hostilities with the help of Great Britain."

"Fifth and last: That the above mentioned settlements have determined to make the first propositions to Spain, and, in case these are not accepted, to embrace the policies of Great Britain."

Assuming with reason, that he was holding the attention of his readers by the directness of his statements, he tells them that, as a natural sequence to the above "facts and inferences," the following questions must naturally arise in the minds of the Spanish Cabinet:

First: Will we be able to perpetually resist in their designs on the navigation of the Mississippi, the Americans living west of the Appalachian Mountains, powerful as they are already, increasing in strength from day to day and assisted by a respectable European power?

Second: Will resistance for a few years recompense H. M. for the expense incurred, and may not that resistance produce to the Spanish monarchy worse consequences than the loss of Louisiana?

Third: Will it not be preferable to attract these settlements by means of some concessions and accommodations, thus making them serve the interests of Spain rather than compel them, through rigorous means, to throw themselves into the arms of Great Britain?

Wilkinson hesitates in answering these questions, saying that they are worthy of the attention of the most notable minds of Europe, and with faltering hands he continues to explain himself thus: "The American settlements abound with men accustomed to the life, habits and manner of warfare with the savages, who know how to procure their subsistence with their arms, and thus find themselves continually prepared for war and hazardous undertakings; these men, forced into idleness on account of not finding an outlet for the product of their labors, may be induced by a man of influence to any extreme of desperation; the silver of Mexico is an object of universal temptation, and I am sure that if these Americans do not find it through the Mississippi they will endeavor to do so in that kingdom through Illinois."

The boldness of his assertion evidently won over his readers. They did not see the implied threat, else they would have spurned him.

Then he goes on to tell them of the intrigues of South American revolutionists, who seek in England arms and ammunitions and who are promised aid and comfort by the prime minister; how these were almost led into believing that the people of Kentucky could be induced to attack Spain simultaneously with them so that the former might obtain the free navigation of the Mississippi, and thus Spain, finding herself attacked at two vital points, on bad terms with Great Britain, and not specially strong, would be reduced to impotence. After so shrewdly pointing out these real dangers and unfolding his plan to counteract them, he relates how the notables of Kentucky, chafing under the inconveniences and privations brought about by the restrictions placed on their commerce, have sent him on this mission to find out if it would be agreeable to Spain to admit the Kentuckians "under her protection as vassals of Spain," and how a man of popularity and gifted with political talents, by cooperating with the above circumstances, could "*alienate the western Americans from the United States, destroy the insidious designs of Great Britain and throw the western Americans into the arms of Spain.*"

Then the proposition to separate all the western country from the United States and annexing it to Louisiana, under the mild and beneficent control of Spain, is boldly outlined.

Miro and Navarro must have gasped for breath.

Their Despatch No. 13 to Valdes is reeking with repressed excitement, and in it they congratulate themselves that such an offer should have been made to Spain during their regime and that they might have the opportunity of cooperating in successfully carrying out the plan as indicated by Wilkinson.

Wilkinson, on the other hand, provisionally swears allegiance to Spain as a guarantee of good faith. This oath of allegiance is a remarkable document. It is a courageous, frank and apparently sincere expression of his convictions, based upon circumstances beyond his control, and reads as follows:

DECLARATION.

"Interest regulates the passions of nations, as also those of individuals, and he who attributes a different motive to human affairs deceives himself or seeks to deceive others: although I

sustain this great truth, I will not, however, deny that every man owes something to the land of his birth and in which he was educated. This something, no matter in what form it manifests itself, is founded on self-pride. For example, an Irishman in Spain, a Spaniard in France, a Frenchman in England, or an Englishman wherever he may find himself, will glory in reciting the virtues of his respective nation, and will be pained or angered at any manifestation of its misfortune or dishonor, but to affirm that an inelligent being, who is able to act freely, must, like a plant, take root in the place which by chance witnessed his birth, would be to dispose of the wisdom of Providence and condemn the universal practice of the human race.

"When a distinguished person intends to expatriate himself, he should proceed with caution and circumspection, weigh carefully the obligations that subsist between himself and his country, see whether he is bound by some link of public confidence, positive or implied; he must consider that this course will wound the self-pride of those he is about to abandon, and, as a consequence, he will expose all his life and actions to the severest scrutiny, and his reputation and character to the blows and jibes of gossip and calumny. Profoundly impressed by these important truths, leaving apart all passion and prejudice, I appeal to the intelligence which God's bounty has given me, and have matured my decision in accordance with the dictates of reason, honor and conscience.

"Possessed of these principles and adopting this opinion, I hope it may never be said of me, with justice, that in changing my allegiance from the United States of America to H. C. M., I have broken any laws of nature or of nations, nor of honor and conscience.

"Born and educated in America, I embraced its cause in the last revolution, and remained faithful to its interest until its triumph over its enemies: this occurrence has now rendered my services useless, discharged me of my pledge, dissolved my obligations, even those of nature, and left me at liberty, after having fought for her happiness, to seek my own; circumstances and the politics of the United States, having made it impossible to obtain this desired end under its government, I am resolved to

seek it in Spain, where I trust that my conduct shall be directed by such principles of loyalty and justice in my relations with my fellow-citizens as to assure the tranquillity of my conscience and that my name be handed down intact to posterity.

"Thus, not only the respect for my own reputation, which I value infinitely more than life, but also that which I profess for you gentlemen to whom I have the honor of addressing myself, have induced me to suppose that in any event of my future career I may depend on you as depositaries of my honor, to give testimony that my principles and the motives which prompted my conduct are the good of the country in which I live and the interest and aggrandizement of the Spanish monarchy; in faith of which I sign herewith on the 22nd day of August, in the year of our Lord 1787.

JAMES WILKINSON."

It has been said that Wilkinson was corrupt; that he had received bounties and benefits from Spain. So he had. With praiseworthy foresight, though, he explains to Miro and Navarro that, financially speaking, he is not a man of consequence, and he goes on to say, "I hope, however, that no wrong will be surmised if at the same time I labor to further the work that may produce the aggrandizement of Spain and the prosperity of thousands of souls, I should attempt to secure the stability and welfare of my family." Then he seeks permission to bring to New Orleans tobacco and produce from Kentucky, which will not only yield profits for the promotion of the cause, but will also open the eyes of the reactionaries of Kentucky to the possibilities of trade and make them all eager to join the movement to become vassals of Spain. The cargoes were to be handled here by Daniel Clark, the merchant prince of the day. His demands were granted in part. Later he solicited and was granted a pension of $2,000 per annum to compensate his personal expenditures, and once Miro loaned him $7,000 on a well-secured note.

It appears that Daniel Clark subsequently wrote a pamphlet in connection with Wilkinson's relations with the Spanish Governor, entitled "Proofs of Wilkinson's Corruption," in which he makes various charges against the General. Clark, as has been said, was the consignee of Wilkinson's tobacco and the one who

financed his deals in consideration of fifty per cent of the proceeds, and as these were perfectly secured by the Spanish hacienda who bought the tobacco for account of the Crown, the profits which Clark received must have been considerable. Perhaps Wilkinson found someone who would finance his affairs for only twenty-five per cent, hence Shylock squealed. However, in view of the exorbitant interest Clark charged Wilkinson, his evidence is not very valuable, as, to say the least of it, his sense of the nicety of things was not keenly developed.

It is impossible to follow here the great venture of Wilkinson, Miro and Navarro step by step. It is too long. But a reading of some of the documents that will be available shortly will amply reward those doing so, for they are as interesting as a novel. We find that Wilkinson had a host of competitors, but that he and Miro were always able to defeat their plans, although they were not able to ultimately carry out their own. Colonel Morgan, Inness, Brown, Judge Sebastian, Captain Cape, General Clark, Doctor O'Fallon and others tried to supersede Wilkinson in Spanish favor, but without success. Doctor O'Fallon, who, notwithstanding that his offers to Wilkinson had been repeatedly spurned, went so far as to accuse him of duplicity. Neither Miro nor Gayoso de Lemos, then Commandant at Natchez, believed O'Fallon, and his charges only made him more suspicious in their eyes.

Finally Miro sickened and was obliged to leave his post. After years of hard work he was succeeded by Don Luis Hector Baron de Carondelet, but it is questionable whether a more devoted and more honest Governor ever ruled over the destinies of Louisiana. He was the first real dyed-in-the-wool booster New Orleans ever had. Inspired by Wilkinson's enthusiasm and for a time guided by the level-headed Navarro, he strained every nerve to obtain from his superiors commercial concessions for New Orleans and the province in general.

In his dispatches referring to the Wilkinson matter, he never tires in pointing out the many advantages New Orleans possesses and how they can be developed, and how the people of the Atlantic seaboard, by their energy and enterprise, have nullified these advantages. He urges and urges the remedy—a

free port, lower ocean charges, etc., the same old story of today. Only then he had Spanish conservatism to contend with, and today we have———. Oh, well! Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

Miro's departure put a quietus on Wilkinson, whose venture had been languishing more and more. The scheme which he so brilliantly conceived and which he advocated and fought for so long was followed up, however. The seed had been sown and, whilst the flower did not bloom just as he had planned, yet did he help to gather it, for Jefferson did not hesitate to employ him, in spite of his well-known negotiations with Spain, to assist him in the Louisiana Purchase and to make him the Military Representative of the United States in this territory; and thus Wilkinson saw the lands of his dreams welded into the one great whole which comprises the richest, the most beautiful and most romantic part of these great United States—one indivisible and unconquerable.

MEETING OF MAY, 1916.

The Louisiana Historical Society held its monthly meeting Wednesday evening, May 17, in the Cabildo. There was a good attendance, with the President and Secretary present. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. A communication from the Secretary of the St. Louis Cathedral Restoration Committee was read with the account of the Treasurer for expenditures of the money contributed to the restoration fund of 1913.

There were no reports from the various committees.

Mr. Cusachs introduced the essayist of the evening, Mr. James Wilkinson, who had prepared a careful and elaborate paper on the character and public services of his great grandfather, General James Wilkinson, who was so prominent a character in the early history of Kentucky and Louisiana. The paper, one of the most valuable historically ever read before the Society, was an examination in detail of the well-known charges once preferred against Wilkinson by historians of a past generation, and, in the opinion of members expressed with enthusiastic unanimity, General Wilkinson's vindication was established beyond a doubt.

The Society expressed its gratitude to Mr. James Wilkinson volubly, and its great satisfaction that he had so clearly and eloquently argued and in fact settled a historical question that has always figured as an ugly episode in the history of the country.

As Mr. Wilkinson will publish his paper in the Society records, no mention need be made here of the fine collection of historical letters bearing distinguished autographs with which he reinforced his argument, carrying it to a triumph.

[NOTE.—This valuable paper was withdrawn from the "Annual" to be added to the contents of the second "Quarterly" published by the Society.]

No further business was transacted. The Society adjourned to meet in June.

MEETING OF SEPTEMBER, 1916.

The Louisiana Historical Society held its first meeting after the long summer vacation on Wednesday evening, September 20, at the Cabildo. The attendance of members was small.

Mr. John Dymond presided in the absence of Mr. Cusachs. The Secretary read the report of the last meeting in May; it was approved. The following were elected members of the Society: Miss Blanche McCord, 5238 Prytania street; Mr. Charles Bray, Orpheum Theatre; Mr. J. Fair Harden, Leesville, La.; Mr. Lea Freeman.

A letter was read from the American Highway Commission, asking the Historical Society to cooperate with other historical societies in suggesting names for new roads to be opened. On motion of Mr. Glenk, the Society agreed to refer it to the Executive Committee to act.

Mr. W. O. Hart announced that, through the good offices of Mr. Colomb, one of the rifles found in the St. Louis Hotel, now being wrecked, would be presented to the Historical Museum by the wrecking company employed; also, through Mr. Edenborn, the corner-stone of the old historical hotel would be given to the Society. No further business being offered, Mr. Dymond presented Mr. Monahan of Algiers, who read an article from a recent number of the Times-Picayune on the old burying ground of Algiers.

Dr. Lemonnier, being present, was asked by Mr. Dymond to speak on the old times in Louisiana, which he did most acceptably. General Booth also added a few remarks. Mr. Monahan was thanked, and Mr. Hart then presented a carefully prepared and most interesting paper on the early work in Louisiana of the Bible Society, under Messrs. Mills and Schermerhorn, whose reports gave many quaint historical facts connected with the work. Mr. Hart called upon a granddaughter of Mr. Schermerhorn, who was present, Mrs. Huffman, and she kindly added a few biographical notes on her grandfather, closing Mr. Hart's valuable contribution.

The Society then adjourned to meet in October.

THE BIBLE IN LOUISIANA A CENTURY AGO.

Paper Read by W. O. Hart Before the Louisiana Historical Society, September 20, 1916.

The American Bible Society was organized May 8, 1816, and its centennial year was celebrated with proper ceremonies and exercises in this city at the First Methodist Church on Sunday, March 5th, and in this connection a brief account of the introduction of Bibles in this State and of the organization of the Louisiana Bible Society may prove of interest.

During the years 1812 and 1813, Rev. John F. Schermerhorn and Rev. Samuel J. Mills, conducted a missionary tour through most of the western and southern parts of the United States. They were guided by instructions received from the trustees of certain missionary societies in New England. The principal objects of their mission were to preach the gospel to the destitute, to explore the country and learn its moral and religious state, and to promote the establishment of Bible societies, and of other religious and charitable institutions.

On their way they found Bible societies in Ohio and Kentucky, and perhaps in other places. On July 29, 1812, they stopped with a Mr. Blackburn at Franklin, Tennessee, and at this point I beg to quote from the report of Mr. Mills:

"We consulted with Mr. Blackburn on the expediency of pursuing our course down the river to New Orleans. He advised us to go, and assisted in making the necessary preparations.

It was thought best for us to descend the river. General Jackson was expecting to go in a few days, with about 1500 volunteers, to Natchez. Mr. Blackburn introduced us to the General, who, having become acquainted with our design, invited us to take passage on board his boat. We accepted the invitation; and, after providing some necessary stores for the voyage, and making sale of our horses, we embarked on the 10th of January, 1813. We came to the mouth of the Ohio the 27th, where we lay by three days on account of the ice. On the 31st we passed New Madrid, and the 16th of February arrived at Natchez.

"We left Natchez the 12th of March, and went on board a flat-bottomed boat, where our accommodations were but indifferent. The weather was generally pleasant, and we arrived at New Orleans the 19th. The distance is 300 miles. For 100 miles above New Orleans, the banks of the river were cleared, and in descending the river you pass many very elegant plantations. The whole of this distance the banks appear like one continued village. The greater part of the inhabitants are ignorant of almost everything except what relates to the increase of their property; destitute of schools, Bibles, and religious instruction. In attempting to learn the religious state of these people, we were frequently told that they had no Bibles and that the priests did not allow of their distribution among them. An American, who had resided two or three years at a place which has the appearance of being a flourishing settlement, informed me that he had not seen a Bible during his stay at the settlement. He added that he had heard that a woman from the State of New York had lately brought one into the place.

"Soon after our arrival, we introduced the subject of a Bible society. It directly met the wishes of the religious people with whom we had become acquainted. As we had letters of introduction to Governor Claiborne, we called upon him in company with a friend. The object of our coming to the place was stated to him, and he approved of it. A proposal for a meeting was readily signed by him and by twelve of the members of the Legislature, who were then in session. About twenty more, principally merchants belonging to the city, added their names to the list. At the time appointed for establishing a society, the greater part of those who subscribed to the proposal met. Previous to the meeting a constitution had been formed, and was presented for their approbation, should it meet the wishes of those present. The constitution was read and considered, article by article, and adopted. All present appeared much gratified with the opening prospect.

"We found that, in order to have the Bible circulate freely, the consent of those high in office must be obtained. We were frequently told, that the Catholic priests would by no means favor the object. We were referred to Father Antonio (popularly known as Pere Antoine), as he is called, who has greater influence with those of his order than even the bishop, who has lately arrived from Baltimore. If the consent of the former could be obtained, it was allowed by those with whom we conversed that much might be done toward distributing the Scriptures among the French Catholics. We took a convenient opportunity to call upon the reverend father. The subject was mentioned to him. He said he should be pleased to have the Bible circulate among those of his order, and that he would approve of the translation distributed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. In addition to this, he said he would aid in the circulation of the Scriptures, should an opportunity present. We inquired of him whether the priests in the different parishes would likewise favor the good work? At this inquiry he seemed surprised, and answered, 'How can you doubt it? It is for their interest to circulate the Scriptures.' We have since called upon the bishop. He also gave his consent and said he would contribute in favor of the infant institution. This disposition in the Catholic priests to favor the circulation of the Scriptures has very much surprised all with whom we had conversed on the subject in the city. The priests acknowledged the nakedness of the land. Father Antonio gave it as his opinion that we should very rarely find a Bible in any of the French or Spanish Catholic families in any of the parishes. And the bishop remarked that he did not believe there were ten Bibles in the possession of all the Catholic families in the state; and these families constitute three-fourths of the population of the state, people of color excepted, as is believed by men of information. When we came to this place we found a number of French Bibles and Testaments had been sent here for distribution gratis and had been on hand some time. They are now all disposed of, and repeated inquiries are made for those books. I happened to be in Mr. Stackhouse's store a short time since. During my stay, which was short, five or six persons came in, inquiring for the Bible in the French language. The present is certainly a new and interesting era in the history of New Orleans. Mr. Stackouse informs me that if he had fifty Bibles he could dispose of them at once."

The Louisiana Bible Society was organized on the 29th of March, 1813, and on the 25th of April, 1815, a most elaborate report of its most important work was made by Alfred Hennen, the great Louisiana lawyer, who was its secretary, and this re-

port is so interesting and probably known to so few, that I think in its entirety it should be referred to at this time. It reads as follows:

"The Bibles (in English) and the New Testaments (in French) which we have hitherto circulated are the donations of other sister societies.

"From the New York Bible Society was received, in the summer of 1813, a donation of 150 English Bibles, through the hands of the Rev. Messrs. Schermerhorn and Mills. From the Massachusetts Bible Society was received, in the month of February, 1815, a donation of 140 English Bibles, sent on by the Rev. Messrs. Mills and Smith, visiting this country as *missionaries*. By the same gentlemen the Philadelphia Bible Society has forwarded 3,000 French New Testaments, a part of the edition of 5,000 which the Society, aided by sister societies and different individuals, has printed for gratuitous distribution among the French of the State of Louisiana, and the Territories of Missouri and Illinois.

"From the British and Foreign Bible Society, the parent of a thousand like institutions existing in Europe and America, we have to acknowledge a generous donation of 100 pounds sterling; one among many other instances of the very extended and benevolent views of that most noble institution of modern times.

"Of the English Bibles there have been distributed 64 among 300 British prisoners in the public prison at New Orleans, 30 among the 300 patients of the United States hospital (of whom 180 were British prisoners), 31 among 240 sick in hospitals of the Kentucky militia.

31 among 266 sick in hospitals of the Tennessee militia.
34 among 360 sick in hospitals of the Louisiana militia.
8 among 50 sick in the United States Navy Hospital.
36 among the heads of American families in the County of Attakapas.
42 among the heads of American families on the Amite and Comite rivers, Florida.
44 to individuals at New Orleans.

---

290 in the whole, and leaving the Society without a single Bible in English, at a time, too, in which numerous applications are making for them.

"Of 3000 copies of the French New Testament received in this city, there have been distributed:

2000 among the inhabitants of New Orleans and its environs.
112 have been sent for distribution to the County of Natchitoches.

42 for the County of Rapides.
200 to the County of Attakapas.
800 copies of the French New Testament have been forwarded by the Philadelphia Bible Society, and committed to the care of different gentlemen residing on the river between this city and Natchez for gratuitious distribution among the inhabitants of their vicinity.

"The want of Bibles in Louisiana has been extreme; and it will yet require a very considerable number to supply in an adequate manner the families which are destitute of the Word of God. Had three thousand English Bibles and as many New Testaments been in the hands of the managers at the beginning of the past winter, they could have been distributed in this city with the greatest facility, and it is believed with much advantage; so good an opportunity will not probably occur for some time to come. Our regular troops and militia then here were remarkably destitute of the Scriptures.

"It was very unusual to find any portion of the sacred volume among our soldiers; and in many instances there were found an hundred sick in a hospital without having among them one Bible or New Testament.

"Some of the Tennessee militia, when passing through Nashville on their way to New Orleans, had inquired in vain for a Bible; not one was to be found for sale; and in the month of December last a similar inquiry was fruitlessly made in this city by a gentleman from the Amite—*nor is there at this moment a Bible to be purchased in a bookstore in the City of New Orleans.*

"The inhabitants of Florida, who are principally Americans, are generally without the Scriptures; so are the other Americans, for the most part, throughout the state. It has been supposed, and it is believed with the strictest correctness, that before the transmission of a few French Bibles to New Orleans by the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the year 1813, there were not ten among the French inhabitants of Louisiana.

"The manner in which the Scriptures have been received by those to whom they have been distributed is highly gratifying and encourages the belief that the labors of those who have united in this work will not be lost.

"The Tennessee and Kentucky troops received the Bibles with no ordinary willingness—it seemed to be received by many of them as *'a pearl of great price.'*

"As there were not Bibles sufficient to supply even the sick in hospitals, who were anxious to receive them, it was not uncommon to see one reading aloud to several around; and at other times two or three lying on the floor together would be attempting to read in the same book at the same time. Some of

those who had received Bibles declared their intention to carry them home with them on foot 800 or 1000 miles, and rather than not carry them they said they would throw away part of their baggage.

"The French have received the New Testaments with much satisfaction. It is possible that some have asked for it from curiosity; but very many have done so from a wish to *search the Scriptures,* which numbers declared they had never seen before. It must give pleasure to every philanthropic mind to learn that the rising generation in this city, heretofore destitute of any book of instruction, has now a class book used throughout our schools – that those children whose parents were unable from the exorbitant price of school books and the pressure of the war to furnish them, have now a book 'which hath God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter.'

"Although the three thousand copies of the New Testament in French had been received by the president of the society about the middle of December last, owing to the disturbed situation of the country, at that time invaded, none of them were distributed until about the 10th of February. After a few persons had received the New Testament and it had become generally known that there were more in the hands of one of the managers, who had been appointed to make the gratuitous distribution of the whole number designed for the city, the applications were more frequent than could be supplied. A large crowd of some hundreds of people of all colors and ranks was formed before the house, and became literally clamorous to have 'a book,' a word which was often vociferated in French by fifty voices at once.

"Such an assembly, for such a purpose, never before witnessed in Louisiana, presented to the beholder many affecting scenes. The young and the old, the rich and the poor, as if alike conscious of their wants, pressed forward with outstretched hands to receive the valuable gift. A child of not more than five or six years of age, was borne in the arms of its mother, a woman of color, pressing through the crowd as one of the candidates for a treasure which she seemed justly to esteem. The silence and attention exhibited by the bystanders was immediately rewarded by hearing this infant read, in an intelligent manner, the story related in Mark x, 13, 16: ('And they brought young children to Him, that He should teach them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, He was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is

the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And He took them up in His arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.') rendered doubly interesting by the incident.

"As all who presented themselves for a French New Testament were asked if they could read, and if any doubts existed, were put to the trial, an aged black woman, being asked the usual question and requested to prove the fact, answered that she could not without her spectacles, which she had not with her; but unwilling to depart until the object of her wishes had been obtained, she renewed her application, and observed to the distributor, 'If I get a book by a falsehood it will not be deceiving you, but God.' Many persons who could not read themselves wished the New Testament for their children, who, they said, would read it for them.

"The managers have received the hearty cooperation of many individuals in distributing the French New Testament. The Reverend Father Antonio de Sedilla, the curate of the parish, has taken an active part in aiding the circulation of the New Testament among the Catholics; the countenance given by him to the views of the Society is of the highest importance, from the great influence which he has among his parishioners.

"We acknowledge likewise with pleasure the aid of several gentlemen; nor in any instance has assistance been refused.

"The British prisoners, to whom a portion of the English Bibles were distributed, manifested the sincerest joy and gratitude; most of them had been supplied with Bibles or Testaments previous to their embarkation for this country; and some (as appeared by a printed notification in the Testaments) by the Naval Bible Association, established as long ago as 1780, but having left their heavy baggage at their camp on the 8th of January, the day on which a general assault was made on the lines near this city, they became destitute when made prisoners.

"During the past year this Society has received many interesting reports from the numerous Bible societies now established in the United States. The information contained in them is in a high degree gratifying and encouraging to the promoters of these associations. Some few extracts from these valuable communications will be found in the appendix. The committee, however, cannot omit on this occasion earnestly to recommend the perusal of such reports; they afford the best views of the design, the utility and progress of these societies.

"Before concluding this report the committee beg leave to call upon the Society for a cordial union in the vigorous prosecution of diffusing the light of 'the glorious gospel of the blessed God.'

"The gospel is entrusted to us, not for our own sakes only, but for the benefit of the world. We receive, that we may communicate. Religion, like other blessings, is to be diffused by human agency and human benevolence. It has flowed to us through the zeal and labor of those who have gone before us; and we are bound to repay the debt by spreading it around us, and transmitting it unimpaired to succeeding ages. To this most worthy cause of God and holiness, of human happiness and virtue, a cause which can never fail, which is destined to survive the schemes of statesmen, and the trophies of conquerors, let us attach ourselves with a disinterested and persevering zeal which will prove us followers of Him who lived and died to enlighten and redeem mankind.

"Great and magnificent is the undertaking in which we are engaged; great, too, are the consequences which we may rationally hope will be their result. Let no minor difficulties impede our progress; rather let them animate our exertions and quicken our pace. The hundredth part of the zeal and humanity of a Howard, exerted by each of us, would convey the Bible to the most secluded mansion in our country—would put into the hands of the widow, the fatherless and the afflicted the words of everlasting consolation.

"A zeal like His pervading our institutions would print the word of God in every language of the earth, and give to every son of Adam 'the Scriptures, which are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.' Let no objections of infidels, or pretended friends, make us hesitate or swerve from the way; though the Bible alone has not yet converted whole nations, it may be the first step in the grand undertaking; it may prepare the way for missionaries; and though, in countries denominated Christian, much ignorance and vice may remain after the Bible has been generally distributed, no one can say that it may not have extirpated much which would have taken root had no exertions been made to repress them. 'The operation of the Bible is necessarily gradual and noiseless: its provinces is the heart, and its best fruits are those mild and humble virtues, which ask no notice but from the eye of God. It is enough to know that we have sown the good seed of divine truth, and we may leave it with confidence to Him, whose grace descends as the dew, and who has promised that the desert and solitary place shall blossom as the rose."

And the following was appended to the report:

"New Orleans, April 25.

"Since the report was written, a box containing thirty Bibles in French, and twelve New Testaments in Spanish, printed and bound in an elegant manner by the British and Foreign Bible

Society, have been forwarded to the president of the Society, a present truly valuable."

Mr. Mills made a second missionary trip to the west and southwest of the United States, leaving Boston in 1814, accompanied by Rev. Daniel Smith, and, in speaking of Louisiana, these gentlemen said:

"*There are American families in this part of our country who never saw a Bible nor heard of Jesus Christ. It is a fact that ought not to be forgotten that so lately as March,* 1815, *a Bible in any language could not be found, for sale, or to be given away, in New Orleans.* And yet eight thousand Bibles would not supply the destitute of this state."

On this second visit to New Orleans, Mr. Mills did much to relieve the desolations discovered on his former tour, and especially in the distribution of the Holy Scriptures.

From his journal I make the following extracts:

"February 10, 1815. This morning I called upon Mr. Hennen, and concluded, at his request, to take lodgings with him for the present. I called in company with Mr. H. at the public prison. There are 300 English soldiers in the prison. A number of Bibles had sometime since been distributed among them, by one of the managers of the Society. We found many of them reading with great attention and seriousness the copies which had been furnished them. We gave them some additional supply. They received the Bibles with evident expressions of joy and gratitude. They returned many thanks for them. More or less of the soldiers are, it is said, apparently pious men. They informed us that many of them were furnished with Bibles or Testaments, but left them on board the fleet.

"The succeeding day I called at the United States Hospital, in company with Mr. Nicholson. There are 300 men sick and wounded in the hospital; 180 are English prisoners. Upon examining the several wards, we found that some of the prisoners had brought their Bibles from the fleet, but this was rarely the case. A number of the sick and wounded, both English and Americans, expressed an earnest desire to be possessed of the sacred Scriptures. Called at the Navy Hospital, containing about forty sick. There was not a Bible among them, as we could learn; but more or less will thankfully receive them. We called at three different places where a part of the sick soldiers belonging to the Kentucky detachment are quartered. The whole number of sick at these houses is 120. Many of them received the information with great satisfaction when informed that some of them could be furnished with Bibles. This was manifest from their

countenances, and from the numerous applications which were made for this blessed book. In one of the houses we found a number of the sick lying on the floor. One was reading from a New Testament to those around him. They had not a Bible in the house.

"On the 12th, in the morning, I called with a friend at the Charity Hospital. There are forty sick soldiers at this hospital belonging to the Tennessee troops. They had not a copy of the sacred Scriptures. A number were very pressing in their solicitations that we would supply them. We observed to them that they would probably soon leave the hospital for Tennessee, and, as they expected to travel on foot eight hundred or a thousand miles, they could not carry their Bibles with them, should they be supplied. Some of them answered at once that they would leave some other articles rather than their Bibles. Upon our return we sent a number of Bibles to the hospital. We called at three different places, which we visited yesterday, occupied by the sick belonging to the Kentucky detachment, and distributed among them seventeen Bibles. They were thankfully received. The minds of many of the sick appear to be solemnly affected. We hope there are some godly persons among them. We explained to them the object of the Bible Society, and charged those who received copies of the Bible to make good use of them.

"13th. We sent a number of Bibles to a fourth house occupied by about forty sick Kentucky soldiers; and received many thanks for them. Visited a house occupied by the sick troops from Tennessee. There were 100 sick at this house, but not a Bible among them all. We left one in each room. Visited the United States Hospital, and distributed thirty Bibles among the destitute. Many applications were made for the sacred Scriptures with which we could not comply.

"16th. We visited a hospital occupied by the Tennessee troops. One hundred are sick at this place. They had no Bibles in the house. Found a few leaves of the Old Testament in the possession of one of the soldiers. Distributed among them fourteen Bibles. They were very thankfully received.

"17th. Today there was a meeting of the managers of the Bible Society. They voted their thanks to the societies that had generously aided them by donations in Bibles.

"18th. I visited today, in company with Mr. H., one of the hospitals at which we had previously called, and in which we had left a few copies of the Bible. Some of the men had died since our first visit to them, and others had so far recovered as to be able to leave the house; and their places had been supplied by the sick brought in from the camp. We found a num-

ber of the rooms containing eight or ten sick without a copy of the sacred Scriptures. Supplied one copy to each room and received many thanks.

"22d. I crossed the river today and visited the sick soldiers in the barracks. I informed those I visited that there were some Bibles on hand to be given to the sick and destitute. There were many applications for them. During my stay at the barracks I was at six or eight of the rooms. There was not a Bible to be found in any of them.

"23d. This morning more than 400 English prisoners left this place. They went on board the steamboat and two sloops which were to carry them to the fleet, or the proper vessel prepared to receive them, lying off the mouth of the river.

"After their departure I called at the prison and obtained leave of the keeper to examine the rooms which had been vacated by the prisoners in order to ascertain whether any of the Bibles we had distributed were remaining in them; but not a Bible had been left, nor the remnant of a religious tract. The prisoners had retained them all. The servant informed me that he saw them packing them up in their knapsacks a little time previous to their departure.

"From the manner in which the prisoners received the Bibles and from the care with which they preserved them, we have reason to believe they will be very serviceable to many of them.

"25th. This morning I crossed the river to visit the sick soldiers in the barracks, now converted into hospitals. There are 360 in the barracks. Many of them appeared in some measure rightly to estimate the precious book. The gratitude they manifested upon the reception of the Bibles was an ample reward for the exposure and labor attendant on furnishing them. Previous to this distribution there was not a single copy of the Bible to be found, as I could learn, among near 400 men in the barracks.

"I lately visited the camp occupied by the Kentucky detachment. General Thomas informed us that, out of about 2000 men belonging to this detachment, there were at the present time 800 on the sick list. The Kentucky troops are not supplied with even a single chaplain, while there are four attached to the troops from the State of Tennessee. I have ascertained that there are three or four houses near the camp (which is three miles below the city), containing sick soldiers, which have as yet received no supply of Bibles.

"March 10th. Today, in company with Mr. Smith, I called at one of the hospitals and made some inquiries respecting the

Bibles which had been left there some time since. There were two rooms containing the sick; only one Bible was remaining in each."

On this mission Mr. Mills was particularly intrusted by the Philadelphia Bible Society with the distribution of a quantity of French Bibles. The manner in which this trust was discharged, and the Testaments received by the Roman Catholics in New Orleans and its vicinity, I shall present by an extract from his report to the Philadelphia Society:

"As has already been stated, I reached New Orleans on the 10th of February. I soon ascertained that the 3000 copies of the Testament directed to the care of the managers of the Louisiana Bible Society had been received. A few copies were given out on the day I arrived in the place. The succeeding day an additional number was distributed.

"The day following, February 12th, the number of the destitute who made application for a supply very much increased. From 9 o'clock a. m. to 1 p. m. the door of the distributor was thronged with from 50 to 100 persons. Those who applied were of all ages and of all colors. They were literally clamorous in their solicitations for the sacred book. For some successive days the applications became still more numerous. In a week after the distribution of the Testaments commenced, 1000 copies were given out. Some of those who requested a supply came prepared to purchase them. They remarked to the distributor that they must have a supply by some means. The principal of the college and a number of the instructors of the public schools in the city presented written statements, containing a list of the schools under their care, who would make a profitable use of the Testaments, could the charity be extended to them. These statements were respectfully addressed to the distributor, with a request that as many of the scholars might be supplied as was consistent with the views of the managers of the Society. Their solicitations were, in most cases, complied with.

"Pere Antonio, a leading character in the Roman Catholic Church in the city, very readily aided in the circulation of the Testaments among his people. Something more than two years ago, the reverend father engaged to assist in the distribution of French Bibles and Testaments. Soon after I arrived in the city, I called upon him, in company with Mr. Hennen. We informed him that the Testaments had been received from the managers of the Philadlephia Bible Society, and presented him with a number of copies. He expressed great satisfaction and repeatedly invoked the blessings of God on the donors. He observed that

God would certainly bless the generous, pious men who had exerted themselves to give to the destitute His Holy Word. He expressed his desire to obtain an additional number of copies and engaged that he would make the most judicious distribution of them in his power. He remarked that he would give them to those persons who would be sure to read them through.

"After our visit to Father Antonio, his attendant called for two or three copies of the Testament. The man who attends at the cathedral was anxious to receive one. His choir of singers likewise requested a supply.

"Soon after the distribution of the Testaments commenced, Mr. Hennen called upon Mgr. DuBourg, the administrator of the bishopric, and informed him that the Testaments, printed by the managers of the Philadelphia Bible Society, had been received and that some copies had been given to the people. The bishop observed that he had been made acquainted with the circumstances by some of his people who had called upon him to ascertain whether he would advise them to receive the Testaments. I had myself an interview with the bishop. During our conversation he expressed to me his regret that the Roman Catholic version of the Testament, printed in Boston in 1810, had not been followed, rather than the version printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. He observed, however, that he should prefer to have the present version of the Testament in the possession of the people rather than have them remain entirely ignorant of the sacred Scriptures.

"As early as the 1st of March, fifteen or sixteen hundred copies of the Testament had been given out. Many of those who applied for them were very earnest in their requests. Some of them said that they came in from the country and could not be denied; and some of them had made repeated applications without success. Some wished the Testaments for themselves, some for a son or a daughter, and some were anxious to obtain a copy for each of their children. It was frequently the case that numbers would remain a considerable time at the door of the distributor, after notice was given that no more Testaments would be given out until the succeeding day. Many applications were made by people of color. We found that a much greater proportion of them, both old and young, could read intelligently than has generally been supposed.

"A little previous to the attack of the English on New Orleans three or four hundred free people of color were organized into companies for the defense of that place. A number of men called for copies of the Testament. One of them wished to know whether the officers of the companies, with whom he was

connected, might be furnished each with a copy. He was answered in the affirmative, and informed that many of the privates could also be supplied. He expressed much surprise, that so many Testaments should be given away. He inquired from whence they came—whether they were the gift of the Legislature of the State, or of the General Government. He was informed that they were sent on by the management of the Bible Society of Philadelphia. The object of the Society was explained to him. The gratuitous distribution of the Scriptures is a thing so novel in this part of our country that it excites much surprise. There is probably a much greater proportion of the French people able to read than has generally been supposed. The 5000 Testaments will furnish but a very partial supply.

"In the Spring of 1811, eight or ten thousand of the inhabitants of St. Domingo came to this part of our country. Most of them remained in New Orleans. Many of them are about to return to St. Domingo, and will take with them the Testaments, where the Sacred Scriptures have rarely, if ever, been introduced. Some copies have been sent to the Havana, in the island of Cuba."

On April 6th, 1815, Dr. Mills and Dr. Smith made a report to the Massachusetts Bible Society entitled: "View of Louisiana" and while some parts of this have already been quoted, it is worth repeating in full:

"The State of Louisiana, having lately become an integral part of the Union, deserves the attention of the public. It has imperious claim on the attention particularly of the religious public. The finger of Providence seems to be pointing this way. Recent events in this quarter at once arrest our attention and elevate our hopes. We refer to the late wonderful deliverance of this country from an invading foe; and to the subsequent distribution of a number of English Bibles and French Testaments. Perhaps there was, in the wisdom of divine Providence, a more intimate connection between these events than is obvious to the world. Even the most heedless and stupid of the inhabitants can not but recognize the hand of God in the salvation of their country. And perhaps they were thereby rendered more willing to give a favorable reception to the word of that God who had so lately appeared for them in an hour of peril and distress.

"In 1810 Louisiana contained 76,556 inhabitants, 34,660 of whom were slaves. Since that time its population is doubtless considerably increased; but to what extent, we are not able to say. The principal settlements, out of New Orleans, are the following: Those on the Mississippi, extending thirty miles below New Orleans, and above the northernmost boundary of the state, are almost wholly occupied by Frenchmen, Acadians and Germans,

who speak the French language. The settlements in the counties of Attakapas and Opelousas are very considerable and have a mixture of French and American inhabitants. Those on the Red River are chiefly inhabited by Americans. There are in this State two Methodist circuits, but there is no Baptist preacher, as we could ascertain, and, out of New Orleans, no Presbyterian minister. A very large portion of the State has never, as we could learn, been visited by a Presbyterian preacher. Many of the American inhabitants were originally Presbyterians, and very many would rejoice to see a respectable missionary among them. It is therefore of immense importance that some one should be sent to explore the country and learn its moral and religious state, and introduce, as far as possible, the institutions of the gospel. Such a man might not only be useful to the Americans; he might exert a very salutary influence on the French also. He would doubtless promote the farther distribution of the French Scriptures. Religious tracts, in that language, might be very soon circulated among the people. And a prudent and diligent use of such means, we have reason to hope, would result in the happiest consequences.

"In West Florida the attention of some of the inhabitants was not long since called to the subject of religion. Many of them solicit for Bibles, whenever there is a prospect that they can be supplied, which is very rare. There are some American families in this part of our country *who never saw a Bible, nor heard of Jesus Christ.* There are some hopefully pious persons who cannot obtain a Bible or Testament. These facts were given us by a religious teacher who had been among the people of whom he spoke.

"New Orleans would no doubt be the principal station of a missionary sent into this State. It therefore deserves a description. When the census was taken it contained 24,552 inhabitants. At present it contains probably 30,000, as many as 12,000 of whom are blacks. And whether we consider its population, or its commerce, it ranks among the most important cities in the Union. More than half the white inhabitants are Frenchmen; the remainder are Americans, from almost all the States, and a few foreigners. Until lately the Catholic religion prevailed to the exclusion of every other. But for some years past the city has been occasionally visited by Protestant preachers of different denominations. Mr. Chase of the Episcopal church was in the city three or four years, and established an Episcopal congregation. Mr. Hull, originally from Scotland, supplies this congregation at the present time. The only Protestant place of worship in the city [at this point there is a note reading as follows: New Orleans, Aug. 1.—On Thursday last, the 27th ult., the cornerstone

of a Protestant church was laid in this city. We hope that piety and morals will flourish under the benign influence of the Great Author of all good; that the people will acknowledge the great and important truth, that 'It is righteousness alone that exalteth a nation.'] it is in the upper room in a building erected and owned by Mr. Paulding, a pious Baptist. This gentleman has devoted this room to the interests of evangelical religion. The state of public morals is extremely deplorable. Sabbath-breaking, profanity and intemperance prevail to a fearful extent. Yet there are in the city many respectable families, who are the friends of good order and morality. And there are some pious persons who sigh daily for the abominations committed there. All these would hold up the hands of a faithful minister, as Aaron and Hur did the hands of Moses; and it may be that the hosts of Israel, though few and scattered, through the blessing of God, would prevail.

"The Louisiana Bible Society was established at New Orleans more than two years since, when Revs. Schermerhorn and Mills visited this city. Already has this Society, although its internal resources have been small, done much to promote the interests of religion in this State. It has aided in distributing 300 English Bibles, the donation of the New York and Massachusetts Bible Societies, and it has given out near 3,000 French New Testaments. But still this Society needs the fostering care and the active services of some missionary man. It is a fact that ought not to be forgotten that so lately as last March a Bible in any language could not be found, for sale or to be given away, in New Orleans. And yet eight thousand Bibles would not supply the destitute in this State.

"Our appeal is to the Christian public. What shall be done? Shall we leave one of our fairest cities to be completely overwhelmed with vice and folly? The dreaded inundation of the Mississippi would not be half so ruinous. Now by divine assistance, an effectual barrier may be opposed to the flood of iniquity. And is the liberality of the Christian community exhausted? Have you no Bibles to give; no missionaries to send? Are there no men of apostolic spirit, who desire not 'another man's line of things made ready to their hands'? Then is the case of this city wretched and hopeless indeed. But surely the cry of some of its citizens must be heard. It is earnest and importunate. It is continually sounding in our ears. Send us some one to break to us the bread of life."

On April 18th, 1815, Mr. Mills made a third report regarding the distribution of French Testaments in Louisiana, but same was made up principally from his journal which I have quoted in full above; this report concludes as follows:

"On the first of April, in company with a friend, I set out upon a visit to the Attakapas country. We proceeded up the east bank of the Mississippi about eighty miles; then crossed the river and went in a westerly and southwesterly direction, between fifty and sixty miles into the country. We often called at the houses by the way, distributed a number of Testaments in different parts of the country, and informed the people that a quantity had been sent on for gratuitous distribution by the Philadelphia Bible Society, and where they might apply to obtain them.

"Have we not reason to hope that in this region and shadow of death the true light is beginning to shine? May it shine more and more until the perfect day.

"From the preceding account you will perceive that we have reason to believe the circulation of the Bibles among the suffering soldiers was blessed to the spiritual benefit of many. We sincerely regret that there was not a greater quantity of Bibles at the disposal of the managers of the Bible Society. When the militia of this State were discharged, many of them called for Bibles to carry home with them. They came eight or ten in a company. These poor men, who had been jeopardizing their lives on the high places of the field in the defense of their country, whose health, in many instances, had been destroyed by the fatigues they endured—and some of whom were doubtless destined to fall by the way on their return to their homes—requested that they might be furnished with Bibles. We informed them that not a copy could be obtained. The deep regret which they manifested on receiving this information convinced us that they were sincere, well-meaning petitioners, and excited in our breasts emotions not to be described. But with aching heart we sent them empty away, as we had done many of their followers who had previously applied.

"We earnestly hope that some more efficient means will be soon entered upon which will meet the necessities of the destitute poor in this part of our country."

The fourth and last report of Doctor Mills regarding Louisiana was dated June 1st, 1815, and was in reference to the distribution of Spanish Testaments and a few extracts therefrom may not be out of place:

"During our stay in New Orleans, and while the French Testaments were circulating among the people, inquiries were frequently made for the Spanish Testament or Bible. It was the opinion of a number of gentlemen of information that some hundreds of copies of the Testament might be readily distributed among the Spaniards, with a prospect that they would be gratefully received, and extenseively useful. There are some extensive

Spanish settlements in different parts of the State, but we have not been able to make out any satisfactory estimate of the number of Spanish inhabitants. There are many families on the Bayou La Fourche. Natchitoches, on the Red River, is partly settled by them, and there are a number of families in the vicinity of that place. We were informed that some hundreds of copies might probably be sent into New Spain, by the way of Natchitoches. Within the limits of Louisiana five hundred copies of the Spanish Testament might probably be very soon distributed, and in a very satisfactory manner. Father Antonio de Sedilla (referred to in the preceding communication) expressed his readiness to aid in the distribution of the Spanish Testament, within the limits of the State, should any number of copies be committed to his care for the purpose. He engaged likewise, should he be furnished with any considerable quantity, that he would send some to Havana and some to Campeachy.

"The Rev. Father has it in his power, no doubt, to aid the circulation of the Scriptures in these places and in other portions of Spanish America. The inhabitants of Cuba and of Campeachy have generally been esteemed very bigoted. If therefore the Testaments were permitted to circulate freely in these places it is most likely that there should be no portion of the West Indies, or of Spanish country in North or South America, where the distribution of them would be forbidden. It is well known that many provinces, formerly subject to the Spanish government, are at the present time in possession of the revolutionists. The present is certainly a very favorable opportunity for sending the gospels to the places already named. Father Antonio informed us that very many of the Spaniards could read. He said that they were required by the priests to read certain books made use of in their church, but that they were not supplied with the sacred Scriptures, of either the Old or New Testament.

"As this paper presents to you the facilities for circulating the Spanish Testament not only within the limits of Louisiana, but also among the inhabitants of Cuba, New Spain and Campeachy, and of the adjacent countries, we should recommend that 1,000 copies at least should be procured as speedily as possible and directed to the care of the managers of the Louisiana Bible Society, either for gratuitous distribution, or in part for sale, as you shall think proper."

I have prepared this paper by quoting from two books kindly loaned me by Mr. T. P. Thompson, one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society; they are: "The Report of a Missionary Tour through that part of the United States which lies west of the Alleghany Mountains; performed under the direction of the Mas-

sachusetts Missionary Society, by Samuel J. Mills and Daniel Smith," printed by Flagg and Gould at Andover in 1815, and "Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills, late Missionary to the South Western Section of the United States, and Agent of the American Colonization Society, deputed to explore the Coast of Africa," published in New York in 1820, and have given, with the exception of a very few introductory and explanatory words, the exact text from the books.

MEETING OF OCTOBER, 1916.

The regular monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society took place on Wednesday evening, October 18, at the Cabildo.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Hart presented the following candidates for membership:

Mrs. E. H. Clogston, Prof. Milledge L. Bonham, Mr. Charles H. Behre, Mr. W. S. Smith; all were elected.

Mr. Cusachs read a letter from the chairman of the editorial department of the National Farm and Live Stock Fair asking the cooperation of the Society in the educational day program, which included a historical pageant. Mr. W. O. Hart read a similar letter from one of the committee. No action was taken beyond the recommendation of the President that the members of the Society would respond to the appeal and do what they could to make the day a success.

The attention of the Society was then called to its regular program, which consisted of an unusually interesting collection of unpublished historic documents collected by the President and read by him and the Secretary as follows:

A representation upon the limits of Louisiana made to His Excellency the Duke of Alcudia by His Excellency Brigadier General Estevan Miro, dated 1793, containing much valuable authentic information concerning the discussion between the United States and Spain concerning the disputed points of the Navigation of the Mississippi River and the boundaries of the respective possessions of the English and French and the conflicting claims of the original Indian possessors of the Louisiana territory.

This was followed by a most interesting letter read by the Secretary and written by a British officer from H. M. Ship Alceste, off Cat Island, dated January 28, 1815, giving a personal account of the various engagements between the British and Americans before the Battle of New Orleans, and a description of the battle itself, showing the causes that led to the defeat of the British from the British point of view.

Mr. Cusachs then read a translation of the testimonial sent to General Wilkinson after his trial and vindication of participation in the Burr conspiracy signed by the Mayor of New Orleans and city officials; and also a letter from Governor Claiborne addressed to General Wilkinson, dated December 12, 1806, advising with him as to measures to be taken by the general government in what he calls "an extensive combination with designs most hostile" to the safety of the territory.

Mr. Hart, in answer to a question raised about Thomas Jefferson, gave a very succinct and pleasant account of the procedure by which the first Presidents of the United States were elected.

The Society then adjourned to meet in November.

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON.

New Orleans, Decr. 12, 1806.

Dear Sir:

Devise the means to enable Captain Shaw to obtain sailors and as far as my powers permit, they shall be resorted to. I learn from some of the merchants that the *term of service* is the greatest obstacle,—it is proposed to enlist the sailors for six months,—this length of time is objected to. Do you not think, General, that two months, unless sooner discharged, would answer our objects?

I am sorry you should think me wanting in decision. To assist Captain Shaw in obtaining men I have authorized an embargo, an act of authority which can alone be exercised, legally, by the General Government, and this act of mine I fear the Collector will not long submit to, lest by withholding clearances he may subject himself to personal actions.

In the last resource we should indeed pursue any means for the public safety, but I submit it to your cool reflection whether, *at this time* I could be justified in directing an impressment, and compelling men, perforce, to enter the service?

I am sincerely desirous to cooperate with you in all your measures. Many well disposed citizens do not appear to think the danger considerable, and there are others who (perhaps from wicked intentions) endeavor to turn our preparations into ridicule; but these things have no effect on my mind. That an extensive combination, with designs the most hostile, exists, I have no doubt—and it is our sacred duty to be on the alert and be prepared to meet danger. With respect to the force under your command, I am persuaded you will make such disposition of it as will effect your primary object, the safety of the Territory.

I have seen Mr. Cox and will give you the particulars of our conversation on tomorrow.

I am, Dear Sir, yours with respect,

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE.

The mails had gone before your last note reached me.

Genl. Wilkinson.

Unpublished Letter Relative to the Battle of New Orleans.

[The following letter, written by a British officer in 1815, was given by the daughter of the writer, Miss Forbes of Santa Cruz, Cal., to Dr. Jerome B. Thomas of Palo Alto, who, in turn, gave it to Professor Ephraim D. Adams of the Leland Stanford Jr. University, by whom a copy was kindly given to the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge, with permission to publish.] Presented by Prof. Milledge L. Bonham.

On Board H. M. S. *Alceste*,
Off Cat Island, 28th Jan. 1815.

James Cobb, Esq.,
Sec. East India Company,
London, England.

My Dear Sir:

The *Plantagenet*-74 leaves us in the course of the day with Gen. Lambert and Sir Alex Cochrane's dispatches for England and I feel particularly happy in the opportunity by her to be able to state to you certain circumstances regarding our expedition that you are not likely to become acquainted with through

any public source of information. It is only since I've landed in the neighborhood of New Orleans that we were undeceived as to the reception the Army was likely to meet with from the settlers of Louisiana and the Floridas in the event of our attacking them. It was the received opinion founded certainly upon hints given to Military officers high in rank by Sir Alex before we quitted Jamaica and upon our arrival on the American Continent that the vexatious taxes imposed upon them by the American Government had so disgusted the people at large as to leave no doubt of our being received with open arms. A representation to this effect must have gone home and can be the only means of accounting for the reason why the Ministry did not send out a force with us adequate to the enterprise we were sent on. The issue has proved that the Admiral's information was fallacious and the returns of our killed and wounded will convince the world that the opposition we have met with was owing to the unanimity of every class of men. In fact not a white man of even the lowest description has joined us since we landed, nor have our generals or the Admiral succeeded in obtaining information of the most trivial nature. We quitted Plymouth with barely 2000 men under Major-General Keane. Off the western point of Jamaica we were reinforced by the remains of General Ross's army from the Chesapeake, and two black regiments. The entire number of our force even by this addition did not exceed 4500 bayonets; of this only 1600 men could be put on shore at once, owing to the want of boats in the fleet and the distance the troops were to be conveyed from Cat Island to within eight miles of New Orleans, about a hundred miles. We made our landing good with that number of men on the 23rd ultimo but with great difficulty, owing to the shallowness of the water and other impediments, and took up a position on the banks of the Mississippi without hearing of an enemy being (sic) in our neighborhood. We found the plantations deserted and learned from the slaves that their masters had joined the militia corps. No sooner, however, had daylight quitted us than we were suddenly surprised by a tremendous fire of grape and round shot from a 12 gun schooner that had dropped down unperceived by any person of the army from New Orleans just opposite our position, but within grape range. After suffering considerable loss, General Keane

succeeded in getting the troops placed under the embankment of the river so that shot could occasion us little further injury. The vessel's fire was from thence returned by volleys of musketry all along our line. A quarter of an hour could scarcely have elapsed when we found ourselves assailed in the rear or on the flanks by about 7000 men under General Jackson so that it became necessary once more to subject ourselves once more (sic) to the fire of the schooner so as to meet Jackson in the field. Notwithstanding their vast superiority both in numbers and mode of attack, from our entire ignorance of the enemy's movements or even a knowledge that any force beyond the militia of the immediate neighborhood existed, we resisted them in the first instance and fortunately succeeded in dispersing them but not without a loss of 300 men. Jackson on this night gained sufficient experience to suffer us to be the assailants on all future occasions and allowed us to disembark our whole force without further molestation. Sir Edward Pakenham, to be our Commander-in-Chief, and General Gibbs, second in command, had an opportunity of joining before anything further was attempted and on the following morning the schooner was set fire to by redhot shot from two guns we had landed. A reinforcement of the 7th and 43rd regiments joined us about the same time from England. The general expectation was that the period was at hand when we were to be relieved from our unpleasant situation and get into town. We drove in the enemy's pickets with this impression and expected to annihilate Jackson's force in an instant, but to our great mortification we found after pushing on about three miles that his army had entrenched itself in a strong position with its rights on the river and its left resting on a swampy wood which we afterward discovered to be impenetrable, with redoubts in front mounting fifteen pieces of cannon. A twenty-gun ship had moved down and was anchored in such a situation as to fire down our line in case [of] our attempting an assault. Not one of these obstacles had been foreseen and our troops rushed on headlong till brought up by the ditch in front of the American line. They were of a nature not to be surmounted and we were constrained to fall back without reach from shot from their lines and ship, with loss. Sir Edward then determined upon cannonading the enemy so as to oblige him to quit his strong ground or by making

breeches, force his way through them, to effect which thirty pieces of ordnance of all descriptions were got ashore and placed in batteries on New Year's Eve. New Year's Day afforded us a sight of fire works, pop guns, mortars and rockets such as has been seldom witnessed even in Lord Wellington's great actions in the Peninsula. However, this attempt was unsuccessful and we sustained a further loss of nearly a hundred men. The last resource was now to storm the lines and the day was fixed for the 8th instant. It was so arranged that a party should cross the river in boats. We were enabled to get into it by a canal we had been employed the previous days in cutting from our previous landing place, which was to take their enfilading batteries on the opposite side in reverse to prevent our suffering from them as we advanced to the storm. The party succeded with a trifling loss in taking all the cannon mounted there, eighteen in number. The principal attack upon the lines failed notwithstanding the success upon the opposite side and the public papers will sufficiently explain to you the loss the army has met with in the loss of Generals Pakenham and Gibbs and the number of regimental officers and about 2000 men. In fact it had the effect to depress the spirits of the Army so far that General Lambert, our present General-in-Chief, immediately after the action determined upon a re-embarkation and began to put our wounded on board the same day and successively shipped off our stores, men and guns, with the exception of our heavy ship guns we were obliged to destroy, until this day when the last of the troops were got off.

To mention individual suffering is perhaps ridiculous, but until this day since the 15th of last month, when I left the ship I have not had the comfort of a change of linen or any other than a blanket and great coat could afford me either in boats night and day exposed alternately to rain and frost or hutted on shore on swampy ground, so that you can easily figure to yourself the change to the captain's cabin of a fine frigate sitting before a large fire that I am enjoying on this present writing. Not only our prospects of prize money have vanished but promotion also which I fully expected would have followed success. No plans for the future operations of the army have yet been suggested. It is generally supposed we shall attack Mobile, but I differ from others in this particular. I do not conceive it to be of sufficient

importance but rather conclude we shall sail away for New Providence or Bermuda and remain in either of those islands until reenforcements can reach us from England and general officers to command with fresh instructions on which point I shall not fail to write you when they are determined on. I have omitted to inform you the enemy had unknown to the Admiral five gunboats of a superior class on the lakes which were discovered by accident by Captain Gordon of the *Seahorse* most fortunately for the army as they would have destroyed the troops in the boats as they were conveying through the lakes; these were captured by the boats of the Squadron.

With kind regards to my Aunt and Cousins,

Yours affectionately,

(Signed) C. J. FORBES.

Representation Upon the Limits of Louisiana Made to His Excellency the Duke of Alcudia by His Excellency Brigadier General Estevan Miro.

Aranjuez, March 18, 1793.

Most Excellent Sir: The desires which assist me of being useful to his Majesty's service compel me to intrude upon your Excellency's attention and if I have not done so up to the present moment it is because I did not dare to interrupt your Excellency in the consideration of the important affairs which surround your Excellency since he has taken up the duties of the Minister of State; but a new Envoy from the U. S. having arrived, who will undoubtedly take advantage of the present critical circumstances to present his pretentions to the navigation of the Mississippi River and to the boundaries which Great Britain unduly fixed induce me to manifest to your Excellency certain circumstances that may facilitate the settlement of one and the other point; to that end I will explain the position of the settlements of the U. S. that are a menace to Louisiana, the means of conserving peace with them, and the measures which I judge necessary to adopt in order to safeguard ourselves from their insults without taxing the Royal Treasury, discussing at the same time the settlement of the boundaries in accordance with the knowledge that I have acquired during my fourteen years of service in the said Province, of which I was Governor.

Referring to the situation of Louisiana with regard to the U. S. and the means of developing and conserving peace by granting them the navigation of the Mississippi, it is necessary to explain the circumstances which will facilitate the settlement of the boundary question. The just means and the mutual rights which will dissipate all cause of dispute are as follows:

The Indian nations who live in the Territory comprised between the mouth of the Mississippi and the sea and also between the two mentioned powers, have never been conquered nor reduced in any way. The English and French who possessed the territory now belonging to his Majesty bought it from the Indians and fixed the boundaries with these. Which boundaries are defined and well known, therefore let the U. S. do the same on its side, and with regard to this they have nothing to discuss with us, and anything which deviates from these principals will be declared null and void by the said Indian nation and will be the cause of war against any one who opposes them, as has occurred up to now between the Cherokees, Creeks or Talaposas and the United States.

The first desire the boundaries to be fixed by the Cumberland River, the latter by the Ocony and for this they have constantly fought until 1795 in which year the half-breed Alexander McGillebray with several of the chiefs of the Creek nation was called to New York by President Washington and a treaty of peace was agreed to, which has not yet been confirmed by all the nation because McGillebray ceded more lands than the said nation cared to grant.

The United States therefore recognizes as a result that this point must be settled with the aforesaid Indian nations in order to be able to possess and use the territory, which the Cherokees and Creeks have granted them in that part of the world. Spain will do the same with the Creeks in Eastern and Western Florida, and with the Chicksaws, Choctaws and Alabamas in Mobile and Louisiana. Between the Cherokees and Creeks the last mentioned Indians have their lands.

The line which the above mentioned Indians, who live on the borders of the U. S. wish to establish is as follows:

It begins at the mouth of the Ohio on the Mississippi, goes up the above River until the mouth of the Cumberland, continues

up this River to its principal tributary, that is to say, up to its most navigable tributary, from there a straight line should be drawn reaching to the source of the northernmost tributary of the Ocony or Altamaha, it should go down this river as far as Fort Bannington, thence to the St. Mary's River which empties into the sea.

If the U. S. absolutely wishes to fix the boundaries with Spain without regard to the Indian possessions and that his Majesty should be willing to do so, it would be unjust to cede anything of the line drawn between the English and the Chickasaws and Choctaws from the territory of Mobile to the Mississippi.

This line begins on the western bank of the river which empties into the Bay of Mobile, called the Tombehe, at a point 45 leagues away from that city and known as the beginning of the divisionary line between the English and the Indians, and named Chatecpe line, from this point both parties accompanied by various Indian chiefs marked the line up to a place called by these "The ball game" to which place they arrived by following the direction of the wind. But they refused to mark the line further unless the English agreed to form an angle which would leave in the possession of the Indians all the above territory; this was agreed to and thus they pushed back the possessions of the Europeans toward the Mississippi, terminating the line on the Yazoo River five leagues from its mouth.

The boundaries of Mobile with the territories of the Alabamas who inhabit the eastern shore of the river of the same name and on the Tinsar, both of which rivers form a junction and empty themselves into Mobile Bay are known by the name of Scambi River, which Rivers flows into the Alabama twenty-five leagues from Mobile Fort. As the Creeks, the most considerable of all these nations, live to the east of the Alabamas on the borders of the United States and the Floridas, I believe that the natural line between these and Pensacola and St. Augustine should run from the mouth of the above mentioned Scambi River where it empties into the Alabama and running east by west should reach out to the St. Mary River.

I can not assure that the line is thus drawn for the boundaries are only known by us to the Scambia River which only discharges a small quantity of water nor did I know if in the region of St.

Augustine the English fixed their boundaries with the Creeks; however it is certain that the line could not deviate very much from the one proposed above. Although in the treaty of peace between England and the United States the limits unduly designated on the Mississippi and in the Floridas are clearly mentioned, I think it necessary to explain here circumstances surrounding them.

The line which crosses the Mississippi in its center up to the 35th degree passes in front of the Red River which empties into the Mississippi twelve leagues below the Fort of Natchez in its eastern part and by drawing the said line from this point east by west as far as the St. Mary's River the district of Natchez would become the property of the United States and this is the richest and most populous of all Louisiana and in Mobile would leave us a sandy waste within the fort scarcely two leagues in extent and behind Pensacola only a lot of untillable land.

The Commissioners sent by Georgia, the southernmost state of the United States, in the year 1785 understood this to be the case and having brought with them a number of Miitia officers and justices of the peace selected among the inhabitants of Natchez, made bold enough to take me to task for the erection of fortifications on the territory of their state, at the time when I was finishing a moat around the said Fort; for this reason I expelled them from that district, reporting immediately and extensively upon this act to the Marquis of Sonora in Despatch No. 117 dated 17th December 1785 and his Majesty deigned to approve this measure in Royal Order of April 24th 1786.

Nevertheless on account of the purchase which various persons incorporated under the name of the South Carolina Co. in the Yazoo tried to make from the state of Georgia three years ago, the territory which they attempted to purchase was marked as bordering upon that of Spain in a place called Cole's Creek which empties into the Mississippi six or seven leagues further up than the Fort of Natchez and therefore removed 18 or 19 degrees of the 32 degrees above mentioned and they no doubt contented themselves with these limits because the referred to treaty expressly states that the boundary line of the United States shall follow the Mississippi until the northernmost part of the 35th; that is to say as far as a point immediately next to the 32nd degree where is to be found the above mentioned tributary.

These boundaries result from the fact that in former days they were marked on the maps as running from Georgia west by east until they reached the Mississippi, but upon the representations of the inhabitants of Natchez who when they wanted to appeal to higher courts in their legal contentions had to do so in Georgia, His Britanic Majesty declared the said district as forming part of Western Florida and under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Pensacola. The line above described was established as far as the Yazoo, and this Province having been ceded by a right of conquest to His Majesty by Great Britain in the last treaty of peace it is not just that the United States should claim up to the 31st degree even though the same power should have so declared, and this declaration may emanate from an error, for otherwise it would have been necessary to declare His Majesty should deliver to the U. S. the said district of Natchez which he then possessed. The above declaration of his British Majesty in regard to West Florida are only known by public rumor and I have heard it from many Englishmen who were present in Pensacola when it was published. His Majesty's possessions having therefore been established as comprising only the limits above expressed, nothing is claimed in the region of Louisiana in referece to the eastern shore of the Mississippi except the territory as far up as the mouth of the Yazoo and it must be said besides that the United States can not claim as theirs the Indians nations of Chickasaws, Choctaws, Chicachez, Alabamas and Creeks because these (besides always having received presents and protection from Great Britain in the Floridas) renewed a certain dependence on account of the protection that was granted to them in the Congress which I.celebrated in Pensacola with the Creeks during the month of May and in Mobile with the other tribes mentioned during the month of June, a treaty of 13 articles having been signed to that effect which I reported to my Captain General the Count of Galvez, and in answer to an inquiry of the Marquis of Sonora I enclosed him a copy of my despatch No. 89 under date of July 2nd 1785.

The above mentioned states will reply that they themselves have made treaties with the Chicahas and Choctaws in Hopewell and Seneca in the year 1786, but these treaties are imaginary and null and void. On the part of the Chicahas only one Indian of

importance with a few warriors went to Hopewell and to Seneca a few Choctaws chiefs who had not yet delivered to me the English medal and both these parties without being authorized by their respective nations, as was afterwards declared by those Choctaws who subsequently came to deliver the referred to medals and also by the king of Chicahas together with his principal chiefs who disapproved of this action as is recorded extensively in Document No. 3 and the other papers enclosed in my despatch No. 24 to His Excellency Don Antonio Valdez under date of August 28th 1788.

It is a great advantage that the above mentioned Indians should remain under the protection of His Majesty so that they might serve as a barrier against the United States and on this account I do not doubt that these (United States) will vigorously oppose themselves to this policy as they always have done, for almost every year they send Commissioners to the Indians to separate them from their agreement, though so far they have been unable to carry their point nor maintain to their party but one Chicaha chief with his village, all the others having resisted to the letters written by the Secretary of War Knox, Dr. Franklin, and even those of General Washington himself, the originals of which they brought to me as proof of their fidelity and it does not appear possible that the United States will carry their contention so far as to employ force with the Indians, for it would be manifestly unjust to prevent them from selecting their own protection.

It will be a source of great satisfaction to me if the foregoing will help your Excellency to propose to His Majesty a satisfactory manner of adjusting the differences pending with the United States and to develop Louisiana in a manner that will enable it to defend itself without assistance.

I also offer myself with the best of good will so that your Excellency may employ me in the manner most useful to the service of His Majesty.

I pray God that he may keep your Excellency's life many years.

Exmo. Sr. Estevan Miro.

Aranjuez 18 de Marzo 1793.

Exmo. Sr. Duque de Alcudia.

MEETING OF NOVEMBER, 1916.

The regular monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society was held on Wednesday evening, November 15, at the Cabildo. The President opened the meeting. The minutes of the last meeting were read by the Secretary and approved.

Mr. W. O. Hart presented two names for membership: Joseph C. Behre, and John L. Henning of Sulphur, La. They were elected.

The following resolution was presented by Mr. Hart:

"Resolved, That Section 2 of Article 2 of the Constitution of the Society be amended to read as follows:

"The regular monthly meeting of the Society shall be held each month unless otherwise determined by the Executive Committee, on the third Tuesday thereof, at eight o'clock p. m., in the rooms of the Society at the Cabildo.

"The annual meeting shall be held in January, when the officers of the Society shall be elected for the ensuing year."

As according to the by-laws of the Society no action could be taken in regard to the amendment of the Constitution; it was laid over.

Miss King introduced a resolution concerning the publication of a quarterly review, decided upon in executive meeting. She proposed the creation of a publication committee to undertake it. Passed as amended by Mr. Hart to refer it to the decision of the Executive Committee at its next meeting.

Mr. Henry Gill presented a handsome collection of scrap-books from Mrs. Rochester, compiled by Mr. G. J. J. Rochester, a late member of the Society. He also presented to the Society a collection of water-color sketches of old New Orleans from Dr. H. B. Seebold.

Mr. Hart presented an interesting literary record, a chap book published in New Orleans in 1896.

A vote of thanks to both donors was passed.

The paper of the evening was given by Miss Grace King. It gave an account of the events that led to the baptism of Prince Iturbide in the New Orleans Cathedral in 1824, which comprised also a pleasant retrospect of the Zacharie family, noted in financial and social chronicles of New Orleans since 1800. The connection of our local traditions with those of Mexico was made

the subject of the short talk that followed. Miss Zacharie, being present, was asked for some further information about the Memorial medals presented to her father by the ex-Empress of Mexico. She said that she had presented the one that remained in her possession to the State Museum, where it can be seen by all.

THE YTURBIDE OF NEW ORLEANS.

By GRACE KING.

There has been extracted recently from that old agglomeration of vital documents, the Cathedral records, the following scrap of history that, as scraps do, has evoked the memory of other scraps which it may please the Historical Society to see pieced together. The record reads:

"Baptized by the Bishop, 24th of December, 1824, Augustin Come Damien Yturbide; born 14th of this same month from the legitimate marriage of the late Don Augustin Come Damien Yturbide, ex-Emperor of Mexico, and Dame Anne Marie Huart. God-father, Jacques Waters Zacharie; god-mother, Henriette Zacharie. (Signed) L. Guil, Bishop of New Orleans; (Signed) Fr. Antonio de Sedella."

The baptismal entry is recorded in the index as Yturbide, Prince of Mexico.

The ten-day-old infant thus admitted as "Prince of Mexico" into the membership of the great Catholic kingdom had already suffered the sorrow of the commonest son of humanity. His father, Don Augustin Come Damien Yturbide, ex-Emperor of Mexico, had been expedited to a still greater kingdom on the 24th of July, 1824, when he incurred the penalty of death, inflicted for attempting to enter Mexico after the ban of outlawry had been pronounced against him by the Mexican government. He was shot on the 24th of July in the State of Taumaulipas.

He belonged to what we might call the great days of Mexican revolutions—the days of Hidalgo and Morelos, who, it should never be forgotten, called at Chipalzinco, in 1813, the National Assembly that first proclaimed Mexican independence. But, as usual in Mexico, a guerrilla warfare kept up military agitation and fomented troubles that culminated in a revolution in 1820. Yturbide, then serving in the royal army as colonel,

crushed the disturbance and, hailed as liberator, again proclaimed the independence of Mexico, which was recognized by Spain and established for a brief period in 1821; but, unfortunately for Mexico, Yturbide was no Washington, and he soon changed his title of liberator to that of "hereditary constitutional emperor," and was thus proclaimed by his army and the Mexican populalace. Simultaneously, however, the republican standard of revolt was raised by Santa Anna and a provisional government triumphed over the imperial, and Yturbide, forced to abdicate, was exiled. He withdrew to London but, returning, he cast his life upon the chance and, landing in Mexico, was arrested, tried and summarily shot. He is described in historical accounts as a man of handsome figure and ingratiating manners, whose splendid courage and brilliant military talents made him the idol of his soldiers, but there are also credited against him grave charges of extortion, violence and excessive cruelty. Though amiable in private life, he was ambitious and unscrupulous in his public career, and to his haughty Spanish temper, impatient of resistance or control, is ascribed in part his failure to found a secure imperial dynasty. Of good old Spanish blood, he had selected for wife a woman whom, we are told, was well worthy the destiny he planned for her: the Dame Marie Huart, a Creole of Mexico but also of fine Spanish family, a woman of great beauty, courage and dignity, who survived him. And now to turn to the godfather and god-mother of the little prince.

Jacques Waters Zacharie and Henriette Zacharie were the children of Marie Etienne Zacharie, a Frenchman, and of Henriette Waters, an English woman. They came to America after the War of Independence and settled in Baltimore, where Etienne Zacharie engaged in commerce which, following the custom of the day, he transported in his own ships. Having lost some of these in the first maritime clashes that followed the breaking off of relations between France and the United States in 1798, and being threatened thereby with financial ruin, Zacharie bethought him of his friends in his old country and he went to France and, landing at Bordeaux, prepared to go to Paris to call upon Tallerand for assistance in prosecuting a claim for indemnity; but meeting an older friend, Barbe Marbois, in

Bordeaux, he went no further (this was in the beginning of 1800), as Marbois convinced him that nothing could be done toward getting his claim recognized; but, desirous of assisting his old schoolmate, confided to him the greatest state secret of the time—that France was negotiating for the sale of Louisiana to the United States. He advised Zacharie to waste no more time over past losses but return at once to America and settle in New Orleans, which, he assured him, was to become the richest field in America for future commercial enterprise. Zacharie took his friend's advice. He came to New Orleans at once and was thus on hand when the era of prosperity dawned, and profited by the tide of fortune that began to course through the new American metropolis. Our local records bear the fact that he founded the first bank in the city, the Banque de la Louisiane (in 1804), of which, however, he made Julien Poydras president, he preferring, for himself the humble but important position of cashier. The new opportunities were all that his financial gifts required for the making of a great and sure fortune and of establishing his large family in the proud and secure social and financial position which they maintained in New Orleans for two generations.

Jacques Waters, his son, or, as we know him, James W. Zacharie, was born in Baltimore and came to New Orleans with his family in 1800. To continue his education here he was put as a student in the old College of Orleans which, as we may say, held at the time all the future citizens of any worth to the city. Zacharie was one of the boys of the college who volunteered for service in the preparations made to resist the invasion of the city in 1814. He was assigned to a post on the lake shore, where he met with an accident that wounded his hand and lamed it for the rest of his life.

Possessing the same shrewd business capacity of his father and the same genius for profiting by opportunity, he soon became known for vaster and more original plans and, in truth, when still a young man, attained to a position in Louisiana and in the United States that was unique at that time and would be more so now. He gathered, in short, into his own management what it is no exaggeration to qualify as the entire businesss

of Mexico, Central and South America: the fruit trade, lumber trade, minerals, in short all the exports of these countries which vast trusts in our day have been organized to handle, loading them upon his own ships and from New Orleans distributing them throughout the United States and in Europe. And this, as has never been contested, simply by the exercise of his keen business enterprise, backed by a reputation for flawless integrity and irreproachable honor. In virtue of these qualities he was recognized for years as the official trustee of all Mexican and South American interests and the charge d'affaires of their financial relations.

Through the network of his correspondents in Mexico he naturally followed the course of its many revolutions and, after the execution of Yturbide, became acquainted with the tragic situation of his widow. With the characteristic generosity that we learned in after years to know so well, he instructed his agent to provide Madame Yturbide with the means to travel to New Orleans, and she sailed on one of his ships then in port. As, when it arrived in New Orleans, yellow fever was prevalent in the City, Mr. Zacharie, who had gone to the levee to receive his guests, directed the captain to take his vessel up the river to the Zacharie plantation of White Castle, in the Parish of Iberville. There the party landed and there they remained for some months. Theodore, the brother of James Zacharie, was the manager of the plantation, and his sister, Henriette, kept his house for him. Madame Yturbide, according to the Zacharie family tradition, was accompanied by several children, of whom only two sons and one daughter, Josephine, are distinctly remembered; also by a numerous retinue, including a lady in waiting, a chaplain, a physician and a large number of domestic servants. A child was born in New Orleans and, in due course of time, as we have seen, was christened in the Cathedral with all ceremony and pomp. No more is remembered here about the family except that they afterward removed to Philadelphia. At that time New Orleans was the favorite place of refuge for the revolution-stricken people to the south of us.

Madame Yturbide maintained her semi-regal state in Philadelphia. She always received visitors in a long room, seated at the end on a chair of state and never rising to any one. Mr.

Zacharie once took his eldest daughter when a young girl to call upon her. She described the visit to her family: how she and her father were received by a handsome, middle-aged lady seated in a chair of state, but when she saw Mr. Zacharie she arose and hastened forward to to meet him with both hands extended, calling him her best friend. A long and pleasant conversation ensued; at the end, when Mr. Zacharie took his leave, she begged him to accept a souvenir from her and put in his hand two large handsome gold medals that had been struck in commemoration of her husband's elevation to the Imperial dignity. As there was no mint at that time in Mexico, and as the medals were extremely beautiful in design and make, it was evident that they had been coined in some one of the old world's great minting establishments on the order perhaps of Yturbide himself.

The daughters were educated in convents in Philadelphia; the sons at Mt. St. Mary College, Baltimore. One of them, as inheritor of his father's title of constitutional hereditary Emperor of Mexico, was afterward adopted by the ill-fated Maximillian as his successor, in a well-conceived but futile attempt at political sagacity. We have no further account of the child baptized in New Orleans nor of the ex-empress, although doubtless Philadelphia could furnish a record of her life there and of her death.

MEETING OF DECEMBER, 1917.

The regular monthly meeting of the Historical Society took place on Wednesday night, December 20th, at the Cabildo. In the absence of Mr. Cusachs, Mr. Dymond presided.

Owing to the tardy appearance of the Secretary, who was delayed by slow street cars, the minutes of last meeting were not read.

Col. Isaac Dickson Wall gave a talk on Baton Rouge, its past and present.

Mr. T. P. Thompson read a most carefully written paper on the origin of the various names by which the Mississippi River has been recorded in history. It was listened to with interest and warmly applauded.

Mr. Glenk presented the name of Mr. Robert Rebentisch for membership. He was elected.

Mr. Hart made a motion that his resolution introduced at the last meeting be laid over until the next meeting. Adopted.

The Society then adjourned.

ORIGIN OF THE VARIOUS NAMES OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

By T. P. Thompson.

The great river that flows down the most fertile valley in all the world—the Mississippi—has been known by various and many names in its recorded history. The name it bears today appears to be the modern spelling interpretation of the original Algonquin Indian phonetic expression, Mech-e-se-be, meaning great waters.

I have drawn down from various source books in my possession a chronology, which I have been able to trace from many maps and relations of the beginnings of American history.

The first appearance of a great river on a map, at a point about the present mouth of the Mississippi in the Gulf of Mexico, was on chart sent to Charles V, 1520, by Cortez: a large, forked stream entering a bay about the center of the arched northern boundary of the Mexican Gulf, is indicated: Rio del Spiritu Sancto (River of the Holy Ghost).

Cabiza de Vaca did not name the broad stream he found on his way to Mexico from Florida in 1528. De Vaca was sailing along the gulf coast, and relates that he came across a fresh water outflow at a point about longitude 90°. It was more than a hundred years after de Vaca that DeSoto, on May 8, 1541, came to the great river which he called Rio Grande and which he described as being a league and a half wide. The point at which he crossed was just below the present Helena, Ark. Five months later his party returned to the Rio Grande, as they recorded it; then, after DeSoto's death and burial in the river opposite the mouth of the Red River, Moscoso, second in command, brought the remnant of this brave expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi, the first European to traverse the Father of Waters!

Garcillasso, who wrote an account of DeSoto, called the river Chucagua; he says the Indians so called it. This was one of the early names of the Ohio.

The Portuguese Knight of Elvas, who accompanied DeSoto, gives the nomenclature of the Mississippi as follows: At Guachoya it was known as Tamalisieu; at Nilco, as Tapatu; at Coza, as Mico (chief), and at its entrance, The River. These names, however, might have meant other streams.

The early name they heard spoken by the Choctaws was Ochechiton, signifying the Great Water. The Spaniards concluded this to be the southern Indian name for the river marked on Cortez's map as Espiritu Sancto and which they colloquially among themselves called the Rio Grande.

DeSoto left no maps. It was in a Florida map of Ortelius, in 1580, that the first interior course of the Rio Grande (the Mississippi) is shown. The name Rio del Spritu Sancto is here given to the stream.

The old maps of this period named the principal stream flowing into the Gulf of Mexico variously as: Chucaquax, Canaveral, and Rio de Flores.

It was not until the Governor of New Mexico, Peñolosa, left Santa Fe, in 1661, to visit the Quivera Indians, that the Algonquin name of Mischipi, as he spelled it, is used in the records.

Peñolosa has the credit of being the first European to use the common Algonquin term, although the Arkansas Indians he heard it from were not of Algonquin stock; thus showing the river was known practically throughout it length in pre-pioneer days as Mee-chee see bee.

In Volume 51 of the Jesuit Relations, edited by Thwaits, Allonez, the Jesuit missionary, is credited with using the word Mississippi for the first time by priest or pioneer. This was before the discovery by Marquette. For thirty years there had been indications in the Jesuit letters of a great river flowing south or southwest, its sources not far from the Great Lakes.

Father Allonez, writing from Green Bay, speaks of "tribes who live to the west of here, toward the great river called Messipi; a memorable remark, this being the first time this Algonquin name of the river appears in any of the writings of the French.

Marquette, in 1672, used the word Mississippi. Hennepin's map of 1683 names the Mississippi as River Colbert, which was the name given to the water by LaSalle March 13, 1682, with great ceremony, at Kapaha. LaSalle speaks of the Indian name Mississippi, meaning among the Ontaonas (Owtawans); the Great River, and Masciccipi, as spoken by the Illinois with the same meaning.

When Iberville sailed westward looking for "LaSalle's river," in 1698, he was told by the Biloxi Indians that the great river he looked for was known in their language as the Malbanchia, and had been called by the Spaniards the River of the Palisades.

The Choctaw traditional name for the Mississippi was Occochappo—The Ancient Waters (H. B. Cushman). J. V. Brower, in his book on the Mississippi, page 282, gives, under the title of "Traditionary and Geographic Nomenclature of the Mississippi," the following observations:

"Prior to DeSoto's expedition, the savage tribes applied names to their respective possessions along its banks. From Cortez's map, Espirito Sancto, in two words is Meche Sebe, original Algonquin. In various relations of DeSoto's expedition the following Indian names for the great stream, Muskogean in origin, are given: Chicagua, Tamaliseu Japatu, Mico, Rio Grande and The River.

"Palisado and Escondido were later Spanish designations, the first referring to floating trees seen at the mouth, the second because of cut-offs, bayous, etc., making it difficult to follow its channel.

"St. Louis was the original French designation then, conception by Marquette; Buade, family name of Frontenac, by Joliet; Colbert, after the eminent French statesman, by LaSalle; Mischipi, by Freytas, who came with Penicaut in 1661 to the Arkansas country; Messipi, by Father Allonez, quoting the Algonquin terms, in 1667; Meschasipi, Hennepin's map, 1683; Michi Sepe, Laval's version; Labat, Misisipi later French version; Mississipi, pioneer western Mississippy; Mississippi, American version, nineteenth century. Gould says: 'An analysis of the word shows that it does not mean 'Father of Waters' at all. Thus: Mis-sisk=grass; Mis-sisk-ke-on=weeds; Mis-sisk-ke=medical herbs, and Mis-ku-tuk. The broad bottom lands of the river were called Mis-ku-tuk; the tribes along the river, Mis-shu-tau, signifying 'meadow people;' thus the literal meaning of the word is the River of Meadows and Grass."

From the above we gather that, having made the circle of many names and gotten back to an elaborated spelling of the original Algonquin designation, the largest of the linguistic tribes living on its borders, we may let "Great Waters," "Father of Waters," or "Meadow River" be its poetic interpretation. Mississippi, as it is now recorded, well names this noble stream, and, within its four syncopating syllables, there rolls from the tongue a name that brings to Americana students a world of romance and story.

MEETING OF JANUARY, 1917.

The Louisiana Historical Society held its annual meeting on the evening of January 17th in the Cabildo, with a good attendance of officers and members.

The Secretary read the minutes of the previous meeting, which were approved.

The following communication was read from Mr. Gustave Pitot, giving information about the painter Jacques Amans, who had painted many portraits in New Orleans:

NEW ORLEANS, December 8, 1916.

An article from C. W. Boyle, curator of the Delgado Museum, is herewith enclosed, which will prove interesting.

Amans was always known to our family and others as plain "Jacques" Amans. He invariably signed his works "J. Amans." He married a Miss Landreaux, daughter of a sugar planter of St. Charles Parish, and, fearing the consequences of the Civil War, left with her for Europe, with her nephew and niece, Pierre and Marie Landreaux. He purchased a beautiful property near Versailles, "Lacour Levy," where he and his wife died, leaving all of their property to their nephew and niece.

Among his portraits, of which I had any knowledge, are those of Mrs. Isadore Labatut and Honorable Felix Grima and his aged mother and wife; Armant Pitot and wife; Mrs. Alfred Bouligny; Gabriel Montegut, and others whose names have escaped my memory.

An interesting painting of his is that of "Mariquite a la Calentura," as she appeared in the passage of St. Antoine, near

the Presbytery of the St. Louis Cathedral, old and shriveled up, warming herself by a fire; she is accompanied by a young woman carrying a pail of water and a gypsy woman. I see her as she there appears in her painting, now in the possession of Miss Alice Pitot, and recall the days of my childhood when to meet her was an occasion of fright and a running off to my old mammy. Mariquite has left little to be known of her. I have forgotten her family name. Her father came to New Orleans with her, a young girl, and lived, I think, corner of St. Claude and Esplanade, on the site now occupied by the Augustin family. She was held indoors, like all Spanish girls, and forbidden to see any one alone; but love was stronger than her father's commands, and she eloped with a young man and her father never forgave her. It may be that the father's unnatural act tended to prey on her mind and eventually brought on a stage of occasional folly, which marked here declining years.

I have no record of how and when she died.

Another Amans painting held by Miss Pitot is the bust of a monk in contemplation before a skull.

These two paintings are now in the hands of Mr. Glenk, curator of the Museum, where you can see them at any time.

Yours very truly,

GUSTAVE PITOT.

PAINTER AMANS.

NEW ORLEANS, September 7, 1914.

To the Editor of The Times-Picayune:

A writer in your paper has asked for information of the deceased painter, J. G. L. Amans.

From the best information at hand, I learn that he was born in Belgium, 1801, and died in Paris 1888. He painted in New Orleans from about 1830 until 1856; after which he went to Paris, and left as his agent here the firm of A. Rocherau & Co., and later Jules Andrieu of said firm. Many portraits by Amans are owned by old families of New Orleans, and there is at present one good example in the Delgado Museum of Art and another in the Louisiana State Museum.

C. W. BOYLE,
Curator Delgado Museum of Art.

The paper of the evening, "Forgotten Treks," by Mr. P. M. Milner, was read by Mr. T. P. Thompson, owing to Mr. Milner's enforced absence, caused by a bereavement in his family. The paper was of unusual interest, treating of the old highways through the country, the Indian trails and buffalo paths, that were the only paths, as we may say, opened to civilization through the forests of North America from Canada to Louisiana, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

Mr. Milner's research work had been so carefully done that he presented a fairly complete compendium of all that had heretofore been written upon the subject and traced upon the maps. The paper will furnish a new authority for consultation by future students, and the Historical Society points with pride to it. Mr. Milner, by vote, was thanked for the paper and Mr. Thompson for reading it. In the discussion that followed of complimentary remarks, Mr. Dymond contributed one of his bright and interesting short talks, relating some of his own voyages as a youth over these forgotten treks.

The following members were added to the Society:

Miss Rene Duncan	Mrs. E. W. Baker
Mrs. S. B. Sneath	Mrs. Ben Lewis
Alexander Hay	

Mr. Thompson gave a rough outline of the historical facts to be commemorated in the forthcoming celebration of the bi-centennial of the founding of New Orleans.

The annual election of officers coming next on the program, Mr. Bentley, after an eulogistic preamble on the present officers, moved their reelection. Motion was seconded and all officers were reelected by acclamation.

Mr. Robert Glenk, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, read his annual report, which showed a good and steady progress in the work and membership force of the Society. He was warmly applauded at the end of it, and with many expressions of self-congratulation and satisfaction the Society adjourned.

FORGOTTEN TREKS.

By PURNELL M. MILNER.

What a wealth of picture, imagination and romance these words bring to mind. The old Dutch word for trails, as used in South Africa, has an instantaneous effect of removing us from the crowded streets, tall buildings, tumultuous activities and hideous noises of a modern city to faraway lands, quaint costumes and lumbering wagons.

It lends color to our thoughts, leaving us quieted, restful, inviting us to a dreamy, imaginative retrospection, letting us see, as it were, with half-closed eyes, the primitive condition of the early inhabitants as to travel and the vast stretches of mountains, plains and unexplored forests of our great country and later of Louisiana—the Louisiana of a hundred years ago and more.

How wonderful, how fear-inspiring, must have been the days when great-hearted men of supreme courage, splendid vitality and unsurpassed strength went forth to conquer and subdue Nature herself, represented by her primeval forests, her trackless plains and inaccessible mountain passes, hitherto untrodden by white men.

What an inspiring sight, therefore, was the great Spanish explorer, Fernando DeSoto, with his 600 followers, clad in mail and fully armed, with 200 splendid caparisoned horses, landing at Tampa Bay to explore the country in quest of gold and fortune.

Follow the wonderful expedition through magnificent forests, treeless prairies, vast dismal swamps and over almost impenetrable bogs, from Tampa Bay north to Tallahassee into and through Georgia, to Augusta, touching South Carolina, North Carolina, at Cherokee, and Southern Tennessee, passing through Indian villages, attacked night and day by marauding Indians, undergoing every conceivable hardship!

Turning southwest, after reaching Tennessee, the party passed through northwest Georgia and Tuscaloosa, Alabama, to Mobile; whence again they persevered and passed in a northerly direction through the State of Mississippi, discovering the Mississippi River in 1541, probably at Chickasaw Bluff, thus gaining, not gold, nor treasure, but everlasting fame. Crossing the river at

or near the village of Mitchigamos, above the mouth of the Arkansas, and spending the next year in exploration of the west bank, DeSoto again turned southwest from St. Francis County and stopped at Little Rock; thence he went into northwest Arkansas and came to a place where he found "a lake of very hot water and somewhat bracken"—evidently Hot Springs. In the Spring of 1542, he started south and, worn out by exposure and hardship, he died and was buried secretly in the waters of the great River he had discovered. (Matthew Page Andrews' History of the United States; Fay Hempstead in a History of Arkansas in "The South in the Building of a Nation," Volume —; Publication Arkansas Historical Association, Volume I, 128.)

Our own beloved historian Gayarre, in his History of Louisiana, French Domination, Volume I, page 15, says: "What material for romance. Here is chivalry with all its glittering pomp, its soul-stirring aspirations in full march, with its iron heels, and gilded spurs, towards the unknown and hitherto unexplored soil of Louisiana."

And as we bid adieu to this unparalleled romance and see the great commander just before his death, careworn, sullen, distant, and his men in rags and animal skins, wandering aimlessly and hopelessly, without tents or baggage, we can not but cast a glance back to Cuba and pity his faithful wife, Isabella, waiting hopefully and proudly the return of her lord, only to die of grief uncontrollable.

Truly a forgotten trail.

An interesting, though perhaps purely imaginary line of DeSoto's route is found on page 6 of a History of the United States, by Matthew Page Andrews; but William Delisle's map of 1718 shows DeSoto's route with apparent reasonably accuracy.

Perhaps the oldest known trail on the American Continent today passes through the Canyon de Mortenda, in Mexico, the scene of early Spanish exploration and conquest, where the solid rock has been worn fourteen inches deep by the moccasined feet of prehistoric Indians.

Mr. A. L. Westgard, Director of Transcontinental Highways of the National Highways Association, announced that this old trail will be shown shortly in his full colored motion pictures of New Mexico, which will necessarily include the cliff dwellings and prehistoric caves.

Mrs. N. Miller Currey, in her recent publication, "The Commerce of Louisiana During the French Regime, 1699-1763," says in effect:

When the French entered the Mississippi Valley there were two sorts of highways fairly well marked—migratory routes of buffalo and Indian trails. At places identical, like Cumberland Gap, continuing some distance and then dividing; the Indian trails leading to the falls of the Ohio, the buffalo paths to Otter Creek (Hartley's Life of Daniel Boone).

Year after year the buffalo went over the same path from pasture to drinking places, and packed the earth so solidly that no vegetation grew. These paths were as wide as two wagons. (Butler's History of Commonwealth of Kentucky.) The buffalo paths in eastern part of Mississippi Valley served the English settlers and pointed the way over the mountains and across the country. Thomas Benton says "the buffalo blazed the way for the railways to the Pacific."

Indian trails were not so well defined and more uneven. Marquette (1675) at 60 leagues from the mouth of the Wisconsin, found a well-beaten path from one Indian nation to another.

Trails between the Illinois and Fox tribes in Illinois County and the Chickasaws and Choctaws in lower Louisiana were trading paths and used by the French (Adair History of American Indians). Important points were the meeting places for securing food or trading, like Shawnaton, Peoria, Danville, at Fort St. Louis, on upper Illinois. From 1706 there was a path between Kaskaskia and Detroit, northeast across Illinois.

The old Sioux trail passed from mouth of the Rock River almost directly across Illinois, where it turned northeast and finally terminated at Madden, Canada. Other trails led from the French settlement at Kaskaskia and Mississippi Rivers to points in Illinois County.

This trail, before the end of the French control in Mississippi Valley, was converted into a military road and each mile marked on a tree, the numbers being cut in with iron and marked red. (Trans. Ill. St. Hist. So. No. 8, page 39.)

Another led from same French village north of east to a point on the Wabash River, near where Fort Vincennes was located. Later it extended to the Falls of the Ohio, where it joined the Wilderness Trail.

Later, when the Mississippi Valley fell under control of the English, some of the Indian trails became well-known roads. For example, the trail through Cumberland Gap, in the Falls of the Ohio, came to be known as the "Wilderness Road." Over this route and numerous by-paths, travelers and packhorses passed to all parts of the territory along the Ohio, Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. To the west of the Mississippi the route followed by Mather Brothers & Companies 1739-1740, from Illinois to Santa Fe, later became the famous Santa Fe Trail.

From Kaskaskia to the Wabash, distance 105 miles, a horseman could pass in five days. Not during the French period nor years afterwards was it possible to go by cart.

There was another trading route from Kaskaskia, via Cahokia, to Peoria, and thence to Galena, Illinois.

Indians south of Ohio River said Iberville in 1702 found some good bridle trails easily made for carts between different Indian villages around Mobile.

Creek Indians had many trails favorably located for trade with English—both to Indian villages and interior to English at Fort Morse and Augusta. High Tow Path began at High Shoals on the Oconee River and passed west to Chattahooche, where it crossed Shallow Fort, north to present Atlanta; thence northeast and west to Hightown in Cherokee County, and thence almost west to the Chickasaw villages near the source of the Tombigbee.

Dr. Thos. M. Owen, LL. D., has written an historical Introduction to Alabama Roads and Highways, published by Wm. F. Prouty, Ph. D., chief assistant geological survey of Alabama, which contains most interesting details concerning old trails. I take the liberty of substantially copying a portion of his article:

"The early explorers of aboriginal America in their ever-continuous marches from the seaboard into the interior soon realized that this vast region was not a pathless wilderness."

"They found the villages, whether contiguous or far apart, connected by trails, and these trails were used by the explorers themselves in their expeditions. In process of time, in the progress of exploration, it was found that Indian America was, in fact, a vast network of such trails, connecting not only village with village of the same tribe, but extending far off to other

tribes, so that it was feasible by means of these trails to traverse the entire continent. The trails were always along lines where there were the fewest physical obstacles or obstructions, often going along on the watershed of two streams, when these watersheds pointed in the right direction. The crossing places of streams were always selected with such judgment that from the most remote period down to the present day these same crossing places have served in numerous instances the purpose of man, whether savage or civilized. The trails also often formed the basis of the modern civilized or white man's road."

"The Great Southern Trading and Migration Trail led from the mouth of St. John's River, Florida, to the mouth of Red River in Louisiana. It crossed the Appalachicola River just below the confluence of the Chattahoochee and Flint and the Mobile River, a few miles above Mobile. It is intimately associated with Mobile colonial history. Apart from its association with war and traffic, it was the great migration trail used by the Southern Indian tribes and sub-tribes that settled in Louisiana after the fall of French dominion in Mobile."

"The Great Pensacola Trading Path, known in the pioneer days as the Wolf Trail, was the most noted trail in Alabama. It led from the Alibamo towns, a group of villages occupying the site of Montgomery, down to Pensacola, and was much used by the Creek Indians and the traders. By the latter it was enlarged into a horse path, and afterwards it became an American road, much of which is still used. The Battle of Burnt Corn occurred on this trail. The present railroad from Montgomery to Pensacola follows closely the lines of the old trail."

"The Big Trading Path, from Mobile to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, ran about a mile west of Citronelle, thence by Isney in Choctaw county and on to Coosha town in Lauderdale County, Mississippi, thence to Plymouth in Lowndes County, Mississippi, thence to the Chickasaw towns. Much of the trading path, then an Indian trail, was traveled by Henri de Tonti in 1702. In American times it became a horse path for traders, afterwards the greater part was used as a post road by the government, and eventually a large part of it was converted into what was known as the Tennessee Road."

"The Great Savannah-Mississippi River Trail led from Savannah up to the northern part of Effingham County, thence west to Tuckabatchie, thence continuing its course to its terminus at Milliken's Bend on the Mississippi—a trail equal in length to the Great Southern Migration Trail."

"The Great Cumberland River War Trail led from the Hickory Ground up the east side of Coosa River up to Turkey Town, thence to the well-known creek crossing on the Tennessee River, near the mouth of Town Creek, above Guntersville, thence to the Cumberland settlements in Tennessee. There were three other crossings on the Tennessee River, one at Guntersville, one two miles below it, and one at Ditto's Landing. But the one near the mouth of Town Creek was the most noted and most used by the war parties in their raids against the Cumberland settlements."

"The Great Charleston-Chickasaw Trail crossed Savannah River at Augusta, whence the trail ran to Okfusjee in the upper Creek country. From this town it ran to Coosa, thence to Squaw shoals, on the Black Warrior, thence to the old Chickasaw crossing at Cotton Gin. It was first traveled by Colonel Welsh in 1698, and afterwards used by the English traders. At the crossing on the Chattahoochie a branch of the trail ran to the Alibamo towns."

Mr. Archer Butler Hulbert's monograph "The Red Men's Roads" contains perhaps the most exact information of any book on the subject within its scope, but it is confined to the Valley of the Alleghany, north of the Ohio River. He has made his work intensely interesting by the reproduction of old maps. A century and a half ago, he asserts, the valleys were filled with the plunder of the river flood, and there was only one practicable passage across the land for either beast or man—across the hill top, where lay the tawny paths of buffalo or Indian. Showing the use made by the whites of these Indians trails, he says that there is not an important trail in Ohio which is not blazed and it is well known the redmen were not in the habit of blazing their trails.

The borderers of Kentucky were drawn into the fatal battle of Blue Lick because they followed headlong the route of the wily Indian, who by blazing the trees and leaving garments on the ground made it seem that they were in full retreat. These un-

Indian signs rendered Daniel Boone suspicious, but his advice was unheeded, and a massacre was the result. (The Red Men's Road, by Archer Butler Hulbert.)

A few of the well-known trails are:

Fort Miami Trail, from southern and southwestern portion of Ohio to Detroit.

Big Trail, from Fort Pitt to Fort Detroit. This was a main thoroughfare and was followed by various military expeditions and guarded on the Muskingunn by the first fort built in Ohio.

Monongahela Trail, well known war path from center of Indian population in Ohio to the frontier settlements of Long Knives, in southwestern Pennsylvania.

Sandusky-Richmond Trail, important fur route between Virginia and the lake country; also most direct route to central Ohio from the seaboard colonies.

Venango Trail, important trail in days of French regime, as will appear especially over the noted portage of 20 miles from Lake Erie to Fort LeBoeuf on French Creek. (Red Men's Roads, by Archer Butler Hulbert.)

Up to the Revolution, land travel was universally on horseback or foot. The nineteenth century was well advanced before carriages or wagons became common.

The settlements in Virginia and Pennsylvania had no money and no stores and needed the indispensable articles of salt, iron and steel. Peltry and furs were their only resources. In their trading merchandise was transported by packhorses and as late as 1788, at one time there were 500 packhorses at Carlisle being laden to go to Shippensbury, Fort Loudon and westward. Packhorses carried bars of iron on their backs, crooked over and around their bodies, barrels and kegs being on their sides.

The caravan route from the Ohio River to Frederick along the Indian trails crossed the stupendous ranges of the Alleghany mountains. The path was only two feet wide, oftentimes along the precipitous sides of the mountains, where one false step meant destruction.

It was customary for each little neighborhood in the western settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia every Fall to dispatch a little caravan to Baltimore and Frederick, Hagerstown or Oldtown, and later to Fort Cumberland, for merchandise, salt and

iron. As there was no way of getting food either for themselves or their horses, they carried the provisions and made deposits of shelled corn at intervals for their animals on the return trip.

(Rupp's History of Cumberland Co., Pa., 1848. J. L. Ringwalt's "Development of Transportation Systems in the United States.")

Under such hardships was this great country of ours developed and the great Indian races were pushed foot by foot towards the Mississippi River and the great West, untrodden by white men, and while the trails in the Alleghany Valley were many and only extended at most a few hundred miles, the great white race, in its indomitable march westward, left this fringe of civilization behind at the Mississippi and plunged headlong across the great continent.

Now your pulses beat faster and you thrill with adventure, wonder, awe, as you follow the wonderful expedition (1814) of Lewis and Clark (Captain Meriwether Lewis and Lieutenant William Clark) across the continent to faraway Oregon. This expedition opened a continent and gave Americans their first real knowledge of the vastness of the country west of the Mississippi.

With what avidity do you read of the great explorations of that peerless frontiersman, John Charles Fremont, the "Pathfinder," who, as late as 1842, as brevet captain of the Topographical Engineers, with the famous Christopher ("Kit") Carson as a guide, has left a pen picture of the hitherto unknown West, hardly surpassed for accuracy of detail, interestingly narrative and full of color or atmosphere. So graphic is his description that you become a part of the little party and follow the winding paths or trails through the tall prairie grass, across the trackless prairies and run the herds of buffalo for food. Other mixed parties of traders and travelers for pleasure meet you or you overtake some in trouble, but self-reliance was as necessary as it was every man's motto, and you pass on and become lost again among the trackless miles of country reaching north, east, south and west of you. Suddenly the cry of "Indians" is heard and a quick stop is made and every man puts his finger on the trigger of his gun. Coolness, deliberation and self-restraint, however, characterize the little band, and as the naked, painted savages dash up on their horses, a parley takes place, presents are exchanged,

some of the almost priceless food (principally coffee) is given to the chief and, in a few moments, our party is again alone and on its way. Sometimes a horse or some of the cattle would become so tired and poor that they would be killed and the meat dried. Then the craven Pawnees would have a feast on the remains, leaving nothing but the bones. The trail was often lined with carcasses of animals, dead from fatigue and lack of grass, and even human skeletons were frequently seen—telling a sad tale of some fiendish attack and cruelty of the Indians on the warpath, or marauding expedition. Now and then would be met some half-starved Mexicans or Spaniards, who had made their escape from an attacking Indian party, which had taken and driven off their best horses. Revenging the death of such a family, as told by the sole survivor, Kit Carson and Godey left the Fremont party, and alone, across the prairie and into the black mountain fastnesses, tracked the murderers and robbers and caught them around their fires broiling and stewing horseflesh. Counting not their numbers, but boldly attacking them, narrow escaping the arrows, they killed some and put the others to flight, recaptured the horses and returned at night to the trail and the Fremont expedition. Fremont says: "I repeat it was Carson and Godey who did this, the former an American, born in Boonslick County, Missouri, the latter a Frenchman, born in St. Louis, and both trained to western enterprise from early life."

Such adventure in an unknown country peopled with savages, such fearlessness—nay, even lion-hearted courage—is, in this age, almost unbelievable.

Going into Southern California, they reached "The Spanish Trail." Fremont says a road to travel on and the right course to go were joyful consolations. And yet, strange to relate, he says: "Although in California we had met people who had passed over the Trail, we had been able to obtain no correct information about it, and the greater part of what we had heard was found to be only a tissue of falsehood."

And seventy-five years later, we have only a general outline of the "Old Spanish Trail," in spite of the fact that we have an "Old Spanish Trail Association," urging the building of a modern highway from Tampa, Florida, to New Orleans, and thence west to California, to commemorate this Old Trail.

It has been a pleasure, therefore, for me to fix definitely, from a reading of Fremont's narrative, with the aid of an old map, part of this famous but forgotten trail.

It ran from Los Angeles east along the Mohave River to Camp Cody (named after the old pioneer "Buffalo Bill," who died a day or so ago, as stoical as any of the famous Indian chiefs he had fought hand to hand), thence along the Rio Virgin and northeast to La Vegas Santa Clara and north to Utah Lake. Fifty miles due east it turned through Wahsatch Pass and then crossed the Colorado River and passed over the mountains to Santa Fe.

Through the courtesy of Mr. T. P. Thompson, who has shown me a wonderful collection, hardly excelled, of old maps, I am able to trace with the certainty of these old guides the rest of this and other old Spanish trails. St. Denis map of 1713, Bellin's map of 1744 and Latour's map of 1782 show these Spanish trails.

Bellin's map shows a trail from Natchitoches to Presidio del Norte, on the western boundary between Texas and Mexico; also a trail from Santa Fe south along the east bank of the Rio Grande to La Pa St. George; thence to Mexico City. This map also shows the location where LaSalle was killed in Texas, near this old trail, which he was evidently trying to reach on the occasion of his second voyage, when he came direct from France and missed the mouth of the Mississippi.

Delisle's map shows old Spanish road (1689) from Mexico crossing Rio Grande and leading to Nacogdoches, Texas.

St. Denis' map (1713) shows an old Spanish trail from Mexico to Presidio del Norte, thence to the Nacogdoches villages.

Later Spanish trails are shown on William Darby's map of 1816, a splendid map; John Melish's map of 1816; and H. S. Tanner's map of 1820.

These show Indian trails from Lake Charles to Opelousas, to Baton Rouge; from Nacogdoches to Natchitoches, to Alexandria to Opelousas; from Natchitoches to Monroe, thence to Natchez, Mississippi, and a trail north into Arkansas.

Darby's map of 1816 shows an Indian trail from Lake Charles to New Iberia, along the Teche, to Morgan City.

Melish's map of 1816 shows old Spanish trail from Presidio del Norte to Natchitoches, and thence to Natchez, Mississippi.

In this connection, I am fortunate in being able to give some local color to this old trail. I am indebted to Mr. Phanor Breazeale, of Natchitoches, for a personal letter speaking of the old trail from his home to Mexico. He says: Some of the old records here disclose that as early as 1760, and particularly between 1810 and 1840, quite an important trade existed between this place and Mexico, carried on by means of packhorses. You find in the southwestern part of the parish evidences of the existence of this old road, and in the '30's and '40's there was a beautiful point midway between Natchitoches and the Sabine River, in a southwesterly direction, an extensive pleasure resort. Remains of the old brick pillars are still extant. This resort consisted of tavern, race track, cockpit, billiard hall, saloon, etc. It was largely maintained by the garrison of the United States troops at Fort Jessup in Sabine Parish. My grandmother, who died at the age of 96, frequently told us of the gayeties of the place and how she went there on horseback with her husband. A Mrs. Hyams, 102 years of age, has a fine memory, and tells of the immense trade between this post and Mexico. It is authenticated that on this Mexican trail there was a battle fought sixty or seventy miles from Natchitoches, on the edge of Vernon Parish, between the cavalcade returning from Mexico laden with Mexican money and bandits, and legend says that in order to avoid capture the traders buried the money, and to this day occasionally credulous parties search for the money.

An interesting old map of 1759 of "British and French Settlements Exhibiting the Just Boundaries and French Encroachments" shows trading path from Richmond, Virginia, to Petersburg, North Carolina, to Augusta, Georgia, and west, bearing north, to Chickasaw towns and English factories, located nearly opposite a point reached by Marquette on first trip near the mouth of the Arkansas; another from Philadelphia to Cape Fear; another trail from St. Augustine along the coast to West Appalachicola River.

Wm. Darby's map of 1816 and Melish's map of 1816 show trail from Fort Stoddard, Alabama, across the State of Mississippi, to Baton Rouge.

Tanner's map of 1820 shows a trail, Bay St. Louis, across the River Jordan, across Pearl River, entering Washington Parish,

Louisiana, and running west to St. Tammany courthouse (Covington), passing through St. Helena Parish to St. Francisville, and following the river road to New Orleans. Also a road from Madisonville northwest to Natchez, Mississippi.

These maps show the great trails east of the Alleghanys; for instance, trading paths from Fredericksburg, through Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia to Coweta.

St. Denis' map of 1713, before the founding of this city, shows the Oumas village at or near this present site.

The first roadway in Louisiana, an original portage, is probably Grand Chemin de Bayou St. Jean, from Hospital Street to Bayou Gentilly across and on to the headwaters of Bayou St. John. Before the settlement of New Orleans this road was used by Oumas Indians and before the Oumas began using this portage from their village located in 1706 at the point of Bayou Road and the Bayou, this same road had been used by the Choctaws on their hunting and trading migrations. The Gentilly and Chef Menteur Road is a branch of Bayou Road and used by the Indians. There was also the short cut to Magnolia Groves (Minor Kenner) along Metairie Bayou. The road along the east bank of the river was originally called German Coast Road, later Royal Road, then Tchoupitoulas Road, leading to plantations of that name, to Red Church and Baton Rouge and St. Francisville. (Courtesy of Mr. T. P. Thompson.)

Just how early there were established Spanish trails from Mexico into California I have not learned. The San Diego Mission was founded in 1768, and San Francisco Bay discovered in 1770. The Spanish power in California was overthrown by the Mexicans in 1822, and then the settlement of California began in earnest. During the years 1843-46 thousands of immigrants passed into California, and when gold was discovered in 1848, over two hundred thousand people crossed the plains from the Atlantic States.

There is nothing more picturesque in American history than the great caravans, particularly the great Mormon exodus of 1847, that slowly plodded westward over the old Oregon, Utah and California trails, with their long line of "prairie schooners," drawn by oxen carrying men, women and children, who suffered indescribable hardships. In the twilight, or covered with the red

hue of a setting sun, the long line of wagons winding its way through the prairies toward the West, that had sent its call to the East, beyond the Mississippi River, must have presented a picture never to be forgotten.

Volumes could be written on old trails, their history and romance, but the scope of this article does not permit too much elaboration nor narrative.

Of all the old trails, the Utah, California and the Oregon, the Santa Fe is the most famous. Most writers overlook its origin and do not know it. Senator O. W. Underwood, in a speech at Nashville, September, 1915, said:

"One of the oldest is the Santa Fe Trail, the beginning of which was in 1520, when Francisco Vasquez de Coronado led an expedition of exploration and conquest from Mexico up into Kansas. In 1596 Santa Fe da San Francisco (the true city of the Holy Faith of St. Francis) was founded in a plain, rimmed in by mountains, where the Spaniards and Mexicans slept for two centuries, between wars with the Indians. In 1825 the trail was made an authorized road by Act of Congress. In the next two years it was surveyed and marked out, from the western frontier of Missouri, near Fort Osage, to San Fernando de Zaos, near Santa Fe. Fort Leavenworth was established to give military protection to the hazardous trade with the southwest. Most intelligent Americans know of the old trail, but very few know just where it ran. 'It wound through strange, scarred hills, down canyons lone, where wild things screamed, with winds for company; its milestones were the bones of pioneers.' In these days the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad practically follows the pass trail."

This is the original Santa Fe Trail. In later years, the trail from El Paso, through Douglas, Phoenix and Yuma, Arizona, into Lower California, to San Diego and Los Angeles, was called the Santa Fe Trail.

William Beckness, with a party of thirty men, made the first trading trip to Santa Fe. This was a thousand mile jaunt through unknown country and blazed the way for fifty years after for commerce between civilization and the great southwest.. Later it was laid out by order of the United States Government. Treaties were made with the Indians at Council Grove and McPherson, Kansas, for a right of way forever for the Santa Fe Trail. Benton

advocated a 200-foot-wide road from Kansas City to the Pacific Coast over this trail.

To the Daughters of the American Revolution are due the honors of starting the movement to commemorate these old trails. The national society planted "markers" along the route, being large granite blocks set in cement foundations inscribed "Santa Fe Trail 1822-1872, marked by the Daughters of the American Revolution 1906." (Harry W. Graham, Jefferson Highway Declaration, Vol. 1, 51.)

Tennessee Historical Magazine: "During the years immediately after the War of the Revolution, the Virginia settlements extended further westward than those of North Carolina and the line of migration lay directly along the Great Indian Warpath which ran northeast and southwest and over which passed the northern and southern Indians 'in their intercourse with the distant tribes, in their hunting excursions, in their hostile expeditions and in their embassies of peace; this was the path of migration, the chase, the treaty and savage invasion.' Immigrants coming from more eastern and northern sections struck this path and crossed New River at Inglis' Ferry, not far from old Fort Chisel. They reached the Holston (North Branch) at Seven Mile Ford, crossed it near the Long Island and were then soon in Carter's Valley where, as has been seen, settlers from Virginia located at an early date." (Ramsey's Tennessee, page 88; Royce's Cherokees map.)

"The Warpath continuing southwest passed close to Rogersville, Tennessee, which may be counted as the eastern terminus of the road laid out by Daniel Boone, later known as the Wilderness Road. This road turned westward, passed through Cumberland Gap and into the new Promised Land of Kentucky. Toward Cumberland Gap all southern roads looking into the unknown west converged" (Speed's Wilderness Road, page 16) "just as in more modern times railroads converged at Kansas City and made that the gateway to the new southwest."

"But while the Wilderness Road was one of the oldest into the western country and one of the best known, it remained a mere trail till 1795, when it was widened into a wagon track." (A Century of Population Growth, 1790-1900, page 21, quoting Speed op. cit., page 51.)

The Gaines Road or Trace was a trading path or portage from the Tennessee River to the Tombigbee River, near Columbus, Mississippi, where merchandise was carried by boats to the Indian trading houses at Fort Stephens.

It extended from Melton's Bluff at the head of Elk River Shoals, Tennessee River, to Cotton Gin Fort, on the Tombigbee River. By treaty of September 26, 1816, it became the eastern boundary of the Chickasaw tribe. (Dr. Thomas M. Owen, LL. D., Director Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.)

We now come to the greatest of all national roads, the "Old Cumberland Road." The first was Nemacolin's Path, or Braddock's Road, laid out by authority of Washington, 1711, through the forests between the Potomac and Monongahela, which was used by General Braddock in his campaign against the French. This Old Cumberland Road was inaugurated at the instigation of Thos. Jefferson, President, in 1802. It was to lead from navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic westward to the Ohio River. A percentage of the proceeds of the sale of public lands in Ohio and later Indiana were to be applied to build the road.

On December 19, 1805, a committee of Congress recommended that the funds derived from the sale of these lands be expended in constructing a road from Cumberland, Maryland, to a point on the Ohio River opposite the city of Steubenville, Ohio. Following the report of the committee, an act was approved by President Jefferson on March 29, 1806, providing for the construction of the road, which became known as the Cumberland or National Highway. The first appropriation of $30,000 was followed by thirty-three other appropriations aggregating $6,824,919. On April 21, 1905, Congress passed an act authorizing the extension of the road from a point near Cincinnati, by way of Vincennes, to the Mississippi River, near St. Louis. As a matter of fact, this road was not extended beyond Vandalia, Illinois, on account of the rapid growth in the construction of railroads at about this time. The first stage coach bearing the United States mail from Cumberland to Wheeling was driven over this road on August 1, 1818. From Cumberland to Columbus, Ohio, the road was surfaced, but beyond Columbus it was surfaced only in spots.

After a full century this road is still paying dividends in public service, as it is now one of the most traveled roads in the States through which it passes. The appropriations were expended under expert supervision, with the result that modern surfaces are now being placed over the foundations built so long ago, and the stone bridges built at that time are still in an excellent state of preservation and are splendid examples of the finest class of highway construction. Stage coach and wagon traffic in the history of the country, lasted until the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was completed across the mountains in 1853. Many substantial taverns were built, some of them standing today. Gradually the Federal Government lost interest in the road and turned back the control to the State. In 1913 many parts of it are unfit for travel.

Today, due to the revival in road building which, in my opinion, is the greatest question, economically, industrially, educationally and socially, before the American people today, this road, which runs from Cumberland Gap, Maryland, to junction of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers at St. Louis, has been rebuilt and it is a wonderful scenic route, with an historical background beyond comparison with any of its rivals. Mr. T. G. Searight, of Uniontown, Pa., has written a History of the Old Pike, 1894, dealing principally with personal or individual reminiscences of the old tavern keepers, freight wagon drivers and stage coach proprietors. Mr. Archer Butler Hulburt (1904) has also written interestingly of the road, but the most complete data, topographical, historical and otherwise, concerning this greatest of all highways in this country is given by Mr. Robert Bruce's "The National Road," published by the National Highways Association.

These maps show the old Natchez Trace (the Great Columbian Highway), the Melish map (1816) shows both the Natchez Trace and the Jackson Military Highway. Both are full of history and tradition.

The Natchez Trace dates from 1801, when treaties were made with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, October 24, 1801, and December 17, 1801, for opening a road through this territory from Nashville, Tennessee, to Natchez, Mississippi.

This was the first post route in the southern country. Its route was southwest, passing the towns of Franklin and Columbia, Tennessee, crossing the Tennessee River, a few miles below Mussel Shoals, at Colbert Ferry, cutting through the northwest corner of Alabama, into Mississippi, and continuing to Natchez, 383 miles.

Senator Underwood pathetically remarks that, like many another public servant, it is cast aside, if not condemned, when worn out and no longer of use.

For twenty-five years the Trace was a most important highway within 200 miles of the Mississippi. Practically all the export trade of Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio went down the rivers to New Orleans, while the men and returns came back over the trace. Its only military history was when in 1812 the British threatened an invasion of the South, Coffee took a troop of cavalry down the trace to New Orleans. (Senator O. W. Underwood, Nashville, Tennessee, September, 1915.)

He says it was the only road provided for in any treaty. He is, in this, mistaken, because, as we have shown, treaties were made at Council Grove and McPherson, Kansas, for a right of way for the Santa Fe Trail and part of Jackson Military Highway was originally a trace opened by treaty.

General Jackson's old military highway has peculiar interest to us of New Orleans, and through the kindness of Mr. J. W. Milner, of Florence, Alabama, I have had the use of much original data, including road plan or route of the army from Mobile to New Orleans.

In 1805 a treaty was made with the Indians and a road was opened from the Cumberland River at Nashville to the headwaters of the Tombigbee River, where Columbus, Mississippi, now is. This road crossed the Tennessee at the present site of Florence, Alabama. This was for the purpose of sending supplies and protection to settlers in the Creek County in Alabama. When the Indian wars were over and the Battle of New Orleans had been fought, Generals Jackson and Coffee returned to Tennessee by partly a selected course, partly the Natchez Trace, and partly the Jackson Military Road on the "Road to Tombigbee," as it was then called. He then wrote the Secretary of War putting forth the necessity of a direct military road from Nashville to

New Orleans. In response to this, Congress appropriated money for equipment and ordered the army to be employed on this work. The road already opened from Nashville to Tombigbee was improved and then the road was cut out and built from there to Madisonville, Louisiana. In Florence, Alabama, Russellville, Alabama, and Columbus, Mississippi, the original line of the road is retained on principal streets cutting through blocks at odd angles. It ran southwest through Tuscumbia, Colbert (formerly Franklin) County, Russellville, Franklin County (where it crossed the Gaines Road or Trace), Old Pikeville, Marion County, Sulligent (old Moscow), Lamar (then Marion) County to Columbia, Mississippi. In April, 1816, Congress made an appropriation for the road.

J. W. Milner, in a letter to P. M. Milner, October 9, 1916:

This highway is now being converted into a modern highway, with concrete bridges, through the activity of the Jackson Highway Association, of which I have the honor to be a Director. I have a copy from the Impartial Review and Cumberland Repository, published in Nashville, Tennessee, by Thomas Eastin, Tennessee Historical Files of the Proposal published November 8, 1906, for opening and laying out the Natchez Trace. It was described as running from Nashville to Tennessee River, 112 miles; Tennessee or branch of Big Black River, 113 miles; Leonachitta Creek to River to Loonachitta Creek to Grindston Ford, 155 miles—total 380 miles. Work was to be completed October 1, 1807.

I have a copy of the letter addressed to Major General Jackson in the Nashville Whig, July 3, 1819 (Carnegie Library, Nashville, Tennessee), lauding him for his services and giving information in relation to the military road between Madisonville, at the mouth of the Tchefuncta (sic) and the State of Tennessee, closing with this exhortation: "Were you an eyewitness of the impositions which are practiced on those useful men who are engaged once, if not twice, in every year in transporting the immense products of the western country to New Orleans on their return home, both by white and Red Indians—were you a witness of the many sufferings by starvation—could you see the many useful men who faint by reason of the impurity of the food they received from the Indians—yes, who died of their effects, you

could not avoid putting in employment on a military road every soldier who can be spared from the garrisons in the southern military division of the United States. What joy when the road was just being completed August 29, 1820, is shown by the Nashville Whig September 5, 1820. The road is now complete from this place to New Orleans. Houses of entertainment have been erected at short stops to render every comfort to the traveler. This road runs through a delightful and romantic country and must eventually become the great thoroughfare to the Southern States."

"The day is not far distant when a line of stages will be established from Nashville to New Orleans, which must necessarily render the military road the most important of any on the Continent."

"By an act of Congress the postmaster general is instructed to run the Southern mail through this route instead of via Natchez, and as this regulation will furnish us Orleans dates several dates earlier than usual, we hope that it will take effect without further delay. To the grandchild of General John Coffee, Mr. Robery Dyas, through Mr. J. W. Milner, I am indebted for original papers and excerpts from his grandfather's military journal."

In 1813, January 7, volunteers were called out to go to the defense of New Orleans and lower Mississippi. The general orders directed cavalry to strike tents on January 10 and proceed to New Orleans, taking the route of Franklin, Columbia, Captain Dobbins and thence along the Columbian or Natchez Road to Colbert's Ferry on the Tennessee. An entry "Camp at Norton's, February 10" would indicate that they continued on the Natchez Trace after crossing the Tennessee. On this occasion they used the Natchez Trace.

On September 20, 1814, an order is entered: The volunteer horsemen * * * will * * * rendezvous at Fayettesville on the 28th and will march the earliest possible to Fort St. Stephens. On October 4, 1814, in a letter to General Jackson, General Coffee says: "I shall take up the line of march, cross the Tennessee River at the upper end of the shoal by Levi Colbert's, James Brown, Richlands' and to Fort St. Stephens." On November 1, 1814, he was at Fort Mimms, just above Mobile, then

went to Pensacola, returning to Fort Mimms November 14, then took Old Trails due west, camping at Corson's Ferry, November 18, and at Liberty, near Amite City, December 5, 1814, and at Sandy Creek, near Baton Rouge, on December 13, 1814, whence the famous march to New Orleans.

His journal shows that after the Battle of New Orleans, March 15, 1815, the orders were: On the 17th instant the brigade of Tennessee volunteers, mounted gunmen, under my command, will commence its march to Nashville, in the State of Tennessee; "the route by which I shall march will be to Baton Rouge, Washington, W. T. McKearin's Choctaw Line, Choctaw Agency, Chickasaw Agency, Tennessee River, Colbert's Ferry, Columbia and to Nashville." This bears out Mr. J. W. Milner's statement of the return route of General Jackson.

The original documents being the road route by Mr. H. Toulmin, contained in a letter to General Jackson, dated Pearl River, 27th of November, 1814, has enabled me to add something to the description of the old Federal road usually given. This old road was originally an Indian trail. By treaty with the Creeks, November 14, 1805, it was formally recognized "A horse path through the Creek country, from the Ocmulgee to Mobile." By 1811, it had expanded to the other with immigrants from the western part of the territory. It was the great highway in the south Atlantic seaboard and interior of Georgia to the whole of south Alabama and Mississippi. Its influence was far-reaching. It survives and is in part still used. It entered Alabama near Fort Mitchell, in Russell County, and passed through the present County of Russell, Macon, Montgomery, Lowndes and Butler, formed a part of the boundary line between Monroe and Conecuch Counties, and continued through Baldwin and Washington Counties. In the early days many forts were located on it. Fort Mitchell, Russell County; Fort Bayne Bridge and Fort Hull, Macon, Mt. Meigs, Montgomery County; Fort Dale, Butler County, and Fort Montgomery, in Baldwin County. Many celebrities traveled over this road. Lorenzo Dow and wife, Peggy Dow, Vice-President Aaron Burr, and General Lafayette and other celebrities. About 1807 it was extended westwardly from old St. Stephens to Natchez. (Thomas M. Owned, LL.D., Director of Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.)

The original letter of which I speak, now in my possession, in giving a route of General Jackson from the Tombigbee to Baton Rouge, says: "N. B.—The Federal Road opened by order of General Hampton and laid off by Captain Gaines, leaves the Mississippi Road at this place and crossed Pearl River lower down." He then locates points on the road as follows: Mimms Ferry, on Black Creek; Chapman's Ferry on Bogue Chitto; Tchefuncta, Springfield, Bookster's Bridge; Baton Rouge (via Taylors). Including the distance from Tombigbee to Mimms Ferry, it made 261 miles.

These original documents, over 100 years old, which necessarily give the exact route and stopping place every few miles, of the party, establish that the outlines of these old trails as exhibited even on the best maps, are accurate only in general detail and that in truth and in fact, these old Indian traces or trails are, in the main, forgotten trails, and that the march of time of one hundred years or more, which has brought a later-day civilization, has covered them up and buried them in the dim, forgotten past.

Their exact existence today we are enabled to locate in the great National Cemetery of Trails, as it were, by a few headstones, scattered here and there, just as when one wanders in the old graveyards of bygone years and finds an old headboard or stone with the name and some simple inscription of a notable character, who had enjoyed fame and distinction, and had been a useful servant of the public, but now forgotten.

I have not mentioned all of the famous trails or roads, like Boone's Lick and others, but if anybody's pet road has been overlooked I offer my profuse apologies.

Resolutions on the Death of John J. Rochester.

To the Members of the Louisiana Historical Society:

Your undersigned committee, appointed to prepare a tribute out of respect to the memory of our deceased fellow-member. JOHN J. ROCHESTER, beg to report as follows:

While not entirely unprepared for the sad event, the members of this Society and the community in general were greatly shocked to hear that on the night of Tuesday, November 9th, Mr. John

J. Rochester departed for the great beyond, for while we knew that he had been for some time in failing health, our latest information was that he was improving and might soon be able to again resume the duties of life.

Mr. Rochester was born in Salem, Kentucky, and though he lived in New Orleans for sixty-five years of his life, dying at the age of seventy-one, thus having passed the biblical term of three score and ten, and while a loyal and devoted citizen of Louisiana, he never forgot his native state, and was always true to its ideals and traditions. By reason of his father's services as a Kentuckian in the War of the Revolution, Mr. Rochester early became affiliated with the Sons of the American Revolution and held many important offices in the Louisiana Division thereof.

To him, more than to any other person, was due the organization of some years ago, of the Kentucky Society of Louisiana, of which he was the first and, up to the time of his death, the only secretary, and which was the one society of natives of another state which took an active part in connection with this Society and others in historical and patriotic ceremonials.

Mr. Rochester was, for many years, a very active member of this Society, serving on many important committees and taking an active part in the work of the Society in all its celebrations and particularly in connection with the centennial celebrations of 1903, 1912 and 1915, though the condition of his health did not enable him to work as actively in the last event as in the others.

As chairman of the committee of the Society to receive the "New Orleans" in 1912, the replica of the first steamboat which ever navigated the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, he created so much interest and enthusiasm in that important event as to have the work of the Society commented upon and recognized throughout the Mississippi and Ohio valleys.

He was one of the organizers of the movement to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary, in 1910, of the unveiling of the monument to Henry Clay in this city, in which the Kentucky Society joined this Society, and during the ceremonials read a very interesting paper connecting Henry Clay with certain incidents in this city.

During his incumbency as chairman of the Membership Committee of the Society, the membership thereof was almost doubled.

Mr. Rochester had been selected for a very important function in connection with the Liberty Bell reception of November 19, but before that day arrived he was with us no more forever.

We shall miss his genial face, his kindly greetings, and his loving personality, and shall ever remember him as a personal friend of every member of the Society.

We feel that we can do no better in closing this feeble tribute than to repeat part of the memorial prepared by the Wholesale Drummers' Association, of which he was president for many years:

"In the passing of JOHN J. ROCHESTER, New Orleans lost one of its substantial citizens in every sense of the word. Not the amount of largess which he distributed earned for him this distinction, for it must be stated that he died possessed of few earthly goods, but in the manner in which he performed his duties as a man and member of the community.

"In any undertaking which had for its purpose the advancement of New Orleans, or the betterment of his fellow-man, John J. Rochester could be found in the forefront of the fight.

"He was truly a lover of man, as his every act proves. Slow to judgment, but quick in action when this was demanded, he tempered his course always with kindliness and courtesy.

"To him, more than any other man or factor, can the Wholesale Drummers' Association be thankful for its years of progress and prosperity. No work was too much, no duty too arduous, for him to undertake in its behalf. No meeting found him absent from it.

"The warm clasp of his hand, the kindly gleam of his eye, are gone, but only as part of the order of this existence; they are not forgotten. His place will be hard to fill.

May his be the reward for faithful performance of duty, for living the righteous life; for helping make happy the life of others; for being a man among men."

To his bereaved wife and daughters (one of whom, Miss Jennie Rochester, is a member of this Society), we extend our most sincere sympathy, and ask that these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Association, on a page specially devoted thereto, that copies be sent to his family, and furnished to the press of New Orleans, and to the organizations herein named.

Respectfully submitted,

W. O. HART, Chairman;
HENRY RENSHAW,
T. P. THOMPSON.

ANNUAL REPORT OF TREASURER, LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—W. O. HART.

RECEIPTS, 1916.

January 1, 1916, bank balance	$ 147.23
Receipts, membership fees	902.70
Total receipts	$1,049.93

DISBURSEMENTS, 1916.

Publication of annual report, Vol 8	$ 171.00
Patriotic banquet expenses, January, 1916	194.15
Notices of meetings sent out	85.50
Services—clerical work and bookkeeping	82.50
Signs placed on Cabildo	55.00
Moving picture lecture	7.00
Lights, current, fuel, porter's fees, meetings	36.35
Mailing reports to members and exchanges	49.75
Postage, correspondence, bills, receipts	60.22
Stationery, printed matter and envelopes	53.35
Addressograph plates	3.14
Cashbox, with name	3.50
Exchange on checks	1.70
Photographs	1.50
Drayage on St. Louis Hotel corner-stone	1.00
Name plate and frame, Jackson flag	25.05
Jackson Day run prize cup	13.50
Carfares for veterans of Soldiers' Home	2.10
Lafayette Day celebration	26.50
Telegrams	6.84
Carfares and special car to Chalmette	6.70
Library, new books and express on exchanges	13.22
Total disbursements	$ 899.62

Total receipts	$1,049.93
Disbursements	899.62
Balance Dec. 31	$ 150.31

REPORT OF ROBERT GLENK, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN.

The noteworthy activities and achievements of the Louisiana Historical Society for the year 1916 were as follows:

The ceremony in honor of the presentation of the Jefferson Troop Flag to the City of New Orleans on January 8, 1916, by the State of Illinois, by virtue of an act of the General Assembly of that state which was passed through the efforts of Mrs. J. B. Richardson of New Orleans, former president of the United Daughters of 1776 and 1812 of Louisiana, and of Mrs. Robert Hall Wiles of Illinois, now president national of the United States Daughters of 1812. The Adjutant General of Illinois delivered the flag to the National Society of Daughters of 1812, and Mrs. Wiles was delegated to make the presentation of the flag to the Mayor of New Orleans, the ceremony taking place in the Council Chamber of the City Hall. Mayor Behrman placed the flag in the custody of the United States Daughters of 1776-1812, and who, in turn, through Mrs. Richardson, turned over the flag to the Louisiana Historical Society, represented by President Cusachs, who deposited the same in the Battle Abbey.

On the evening of the same day, January 8, the annual reunion dinner of the Louisiana Historical Society took place in the gold room of the Grunewald Hotel, about 90 members and friends of the society participating. The excellent menu and well-filled program of speeches and singing were greatly enjoyed by all present. Mr. W. O. Hart acted as toastmaster of the occasion.

On September 6, the day set aside for a national celebration in honor of the birthday of Lafayette, the Louisiana Historical Society cooperating with the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Athenée Louisianais, L'Union Francaise, Societé du Quatorze Juliet; Les Enfants de la France, Alliance France Louisianaise and Causeries du Lundi, patriotic French societies of this city, and the Mayor and Commission Council took part in a reception at the Mayor's parlor; unveiled a bust of Lafayette at Lafayette square and carried out a very significant program of speeches and music at the Cabildo in the evening, which was attended by a large and brilliant gathering.

At the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Newark, N. J., on May 1, 1916, the following delegates represented the Louisiana Historical Society: Mr. and Mrs. Charles LeSassier, Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart, and Dr. Charles A. Browne.

MEETINGS AND LECTURES.

During the year nine regular meetings were held and three special lectures were given in the Cabildo, as follows:

1916

January 7.—Motion picture and lecture, "Battle of New Orleans" and "Celebration in 1915," by Stanley C. Arthur.

January 19.—Annual meeting. "Bienville and His Services to New Orleans," Mrs. S. B. Elder.

February 16.—"Return of the Jesuits to Louisiana," by Rev. J. J. O'Brien.

March 15.—"Notes on Gen. Wilkinson's Memorial and Miro and Navarro's Despatch No. 13," by Gilbert Pemberton.

April 5.—"Origin and Evolution of the United States Flag," by R. G. Ballard Thruston, Louisville, Ky.

April 19.—"The Opera in New Orleans," by Harry B. Loeb.

May 17.—"General James Wilkinson," by Mr. James Wilkinson.

June.—No meetings.

July.—No meetings.

August 3.—"A Voyage of Friendliness," by Elwood Lloyd of Chautauqua, N. Y.

September 20.—"An Old Algiers Burying Ground," by W. S. Mahoney, and "The Bible in Louisiana a Century Ago," by W. O. Hart.

October 18.—Estevan Miro's Report on the Boundary of the United States and Louisiana; British Officer's Account of the Expedition to Capture New Orleans in 1815, and some Claiborne Letters, read by Mr. Cusachs.

November 15.—"The New Orleans Yturbide," by Miss Grace King.

December 20.—"Baton Rouge, Its Past and Present," by Col. Isaac Dickson Wall of Baton Rouge.

The attendance at all of the meetings was quite satisfactory and indicates a live interest in the work of the Society by the members.

Membership.

Seventy-one applicants were elected to active membership in the Society—fifty-three gentlemen and eighteen ladies. Three were made honorary members.

During the year there were twenty-one resignations and thirteen deaths from among the members. The net increase in membership for 1916 is thirty-seven active, two honorary, making a total of five hundred and eighty-eight active members and fifteen honorary members on the roster of the Society on January 1, 1917.

It is with much sorrow that we record the death of the following active members of the Louisiana Historical Society during 1916.

Gustav Reinhold Westfeldt
Bernard Bruenn
John C. Levy
Dr. E. W. Jones
C. W. G. Rareshide
F. A. Daniels
George H. Smith
J. G. Harrison
John N. Schroedel
E. A. Carrere
E. P. Andree
Louis N. Brueggerhoff
Edgar T. Leche

All the members in good standing receive the annual volume of the Society's Proceedings as soon as published. Those members who are in arrears receive the publication as soon as their dues are paid to the Treasurer. Volume Eight was published in April and Volume Nine is now being prepared for the printer by Miss Grace King and will shortly be issued.

During the session of the Legislature of 1916 the following act was passed providing for the printing of the Annual Reports and a quarterly Journal of History of the Louisiana Historical Society:

ACT No. 274.

Senate Bill No. 239. By Mr. Leon R. Smith (by request).

AN ACT

Regarding the printing of the reports and journals of the Louisiana Historical Society.

Whereas, the Louisiana Historical Society which has existed for over three-quarters of a century, and under various acts of the General Assembly of Louisiana has been made the custodian of valuable and important documents relating to the history of the State of Louisiana while a French and Spanish province, said documents being at the disposal of the public and the State and having been used to advantage by the State in the great oyster litigation with the State of Mississippi, and in reference to lakes and water courses in the State and the publications and journals of said society being valuable to present and future historians, therefore,

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, That the Secretary of State be, and he is hereby directed to cause to be printed and delivered to said society one thousand copies of its yearly report and one thousand copies each of any journal that said society may desire to publish not oftener than once in every three months, the cost of said printing to be charged and paid for as other public printing of the State.

Section 2. Be it further enacted, etc., That should said society desire more than one thousand copies of each publication as herein provided for, it shall have the right to contract for same at its own expense with the public printer.

FERNAND MOUTON,
Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate.

HEWITT BOUANCHAUD,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Approved: July 6, 1916.

R. G. PLEASANT,
Governor of the State of Louisiana.

A true copy:

JAMES J. BAILEY,
Secretary of State.

The act was drafted by Mr. W. O. Hart and it was largely through his efforts that it was passed.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, Senator John Dymond and Robert Glenk were named a committee to take charge of the publication of the Quarterly Journal, and work on the same is now progressing. The first number will contain a report

of the Diary of Galvez during the War in West Florida; Information concerning the controversy regarding the boundary lines of Province of Texas and the Province of Louisiana from Zacatecas, Mexico, and an installment of the earliest records of the Superior Council of the Cabildo, translated by Mr. Wm. Price and edited by Miss Grace King.

LOANS AND GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY.

The following gifts have been received and deposited with the Society's collections in the Louisiana State Museum in the Cabildo, during 1916:

Dr. H. B. Seebold—Twelve pencil sketches of portraits, nineteen water-color sketches of views and buildings in old New Orleans.

William Edenborn—Builders' stone of old St. Louis Hotel, 1838.

O. M. Samuel—One Springfield rifle, found under floor of old St. Louis Hotel when being demolished in August, 1916.

Mrs. F. P. Hardenstein, Washington, D. C.—Photograph of Jos. H. Jones, faithful servant of Jefferson Davis (through W. O. Hart).

H. Duvalle—Old silk flag used by Continental Guards; handkerchief used by John L. Sullivan at prize fight at Richburg, Miss.

U. S. Daughters 1776-1812—Jefferson Troop flag, presented by State of Illinois to the City of New Orleans, Jan. 8, 1916.

Edward Curtis, San Francisco—Colonial silk flag, 13 stars, 13 stripes, with inscription, G. of L.

Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge—Copy of letter written by British officer after the Battle of New Orleans, 1815.

Southern Yacht Club—Lloyd canoe which made the trip from Chautauqua, N. Y., to New Orleans.

Chancellor of French Consulate—Loaned French flag.

Union Francaise—Loaned American and French flags.

School, 14th July—Loaned American and French flags.

Charles W. Alexander, Philadelphia—Two medals commemorating the visit of the Liberty Bell to New Orleans.

Mrs. D. A. S. Vaught—Biographical sketches and important official letters of Governor Gayle of Alabama, 1792-1858.

American Peace Centenary Committee, New York—The official Peace Medal.

Mr. W. O. Hart—Two medals worn on the occasion of the visit of the Liberty Bell in New Orleans; delegate's badge, National Democratic Convention, St. Louis, 1916; admission tickets to National Democratic Convention; flag (U. S.) used at opening exercises of convention, and woman's suffrage flag displayed at same convention; three tickets National Republican Convention, Chicago, 1916; program Helen Keller lecture, New Orleans, March, 1916; centennial program, American Bible Society; Law Student's Helper, Vol. 23 p. and 7; "Industry and Education," by D. S. Hill; Tracts Nos. 92, 94, 95, Western Reserve Historical Society; Report of Board of Commissioners on Uniform Legislation in U. S., 1916; official program Republican National Convention, 1916; Library Classification of History, Library of Congress; Americanization Day program, July 4, 1916; New Orleans booklet issued by Southern Pacific Railroad; tornado views of Omaha, Neb., 1913; badges, Lafayette celebration, Sept. 6, 1916; Lafayette book, by National Life Association; Yearbook, Empire State Society.

Library.

To the Library of the Society have been added 112 bound volumes, pamphlets and parts of volumes, making a total of 975 books and 2700 pamphlets on the shelves.

A list of publications received as gifts and exchanges follows:

Gifts and Exchanges.

American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, 1915-1916.

American Catholic Historical Society, Records, 1916.

Alliance Francaise, Bulletins, 1916.

Bangor Historical Society, Proceedings of Fiftieth Anniversary.

Chicago Historical Society, Annual Reports, 1915-1916; Jefferson Lemon Compact; Masters of the Wilderness, C. B. Reed.

Connecticut Historical Society, Annual Report, 1915.

Nattatuck Historical Society, President's Address, 1911-1913.

New Haven Colony Historical Society, Bells, J. S. Hotchkiss.

Smithsonian Institution, Proceedings Ninth Annual Conference of Historical Societies, 1914.

Georgia Historical Society, Annals, 1915; Letters of Benjamin Hawkins.

Illinois State Historical Society, Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1915-16.

Illinois State Historical Library, Publication 18; Transactions Illinois State Historical Society, 1912-1913.

Indiana Historical Society, Indiana Magazine of History, Vols. 9-11; Publications, Vol. 5.

Historical Department of Iowa, Annals of Iowa, 1916.

Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 1916; Bulletin of Information No. 7; Decisive Episodes in Western History, L. S. Weldon.

Kansas State Historical Society, Nineteenth Biennial Report.

Kentucky State Historical Society, Arbor Day at the Capital, H. T. Stanford; Bibliography of Dr. Thomas E. Pickett; Boone-Bryan History, by Dr. J. D. Bryan; Catalogue of Prehistoric Relics, W. J. Curtis; Dick Johnson's Indian School; Proceedings, Kentucky State Historical Society; Boone Day; Register, 20 volumes.

Walter L. Fleming, Baton Rouge, Deportation and Colonization, 1914.

John Dymond, Louisiana Planter, 1916.

William O. Scroggs, Baton Rouge, Report on Archives of State of Louisiana.

Maine Historical Society, Collections, vols. 17 to 22; Proceedings, 1914.

Cambridge Historical Society, Publications, Vol. 8.

Michigan Historical Commissioner, Bulletins 1-4; Third Annual Report; In Memory of J. McMillan.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Historical Collections, Vols. 30 to 38; Index to Volumes 1 to 30; Report of Forty-first meeting.

Thunder Bay Historical Society, Fifth and Sixth Annual Report.

Minnesota Historical Society, Bulletin, Vol. 1; Collections, Vol. 15; Eighteenth Biennial Report.

Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings, 1915; Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 1916.

Missouri Historical Society, Collections, Vol. 4.

State Historical Society of Missouri, Missouri Historical Review, Vols. 9 and 10; Biennial Reports, 1914-1915.

Nebraska State Historical Society, Collections, Vol. 17; Nebraska Constitutional Convention, Vol. 3.

New Hampshire Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. 2.

Vineland Historical Antiquarian Society, Reports, 1913-1915; Religious Forces in History of Vineland.

New Jersey Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. 10.

Long Island Historical Society, Handbook, 1914-1915.

New York Historical Society, Collections, 1912-1915; Memorial of Col. Andrew Warner, 1913; Catalog of the Gallery of Art, 1915; Catalog of Egyptian Antiquities, 1915.

New York State Historical Association, Proceedings, Vols. 12-14.

Schenectady County Historical Society, Yearbook, 1914.

North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin 5.

North Carolina Historical Society, James Sprunt Historical Publications, Vol. 13-15.

Oklahoma Historical Society, Historia, Vols. 4-6.

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Quarterly Publication, Vol. 1-10.

Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, Poems on Ohio, 1911; Annual Report, 1914; History of American Indians, D. Zeisberger; Publications, Vols. 1-25.

Western Reserve Historical Society, Tract Nos. 92, 93, 94, 95; Manual, 1916.

Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, Proceedings, 1914-1915.

Rhode Island Historical Society, Charter and By-Laws, 1913-1914; Report of Committee on Marking Sites.

Tennessee Historical Society, Tennessee Historical Magazine, 1916.

Texas State Historical Association, Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Vols. 17-19.

University of Texas, History Teachers' Bulletins 45, 69.

R. G. Ballard Thruston, Louisville, regimental colors of War of the Revolution.
Rocky Mountain Herald, Denver, 1916 issues.
W. H. Hannon, New Orleans, the Photo Drama.
Vermont Historical Society, Proceedings, 1915.
Washington University State Historical Society, Washington Historical Quarterly, 1916.
Wisconsin State Historical Society, Collections, Vols. 1 to 21.
Filson Club, Louisville, Ky., Lopez's Expedition to Cuba, 1850-1851.
Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C., Report, 1916.
Louisiana Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. 8.

MATTERS OF GENERAL INTEREST.

In order to afford ready access to the subject matter contained in these publications, 950 index cards have been made by the librarian and filed.

Nothing further has been done regarding the indexing of the Records of the Superior Council of the Cabildo since Mr. Price left. Of the indexes prepared by him of the documents dating 1719-1760, it is planned to arrange them for publication in the Society's Quarterly Journal as soon as they can be gotten in shape. Miss Grace King has undertaken this work voluntarily.

Relative to the catalogue of documents in the archives and library of Paris pertaining to the history of the Mississippi Valley, for which the Society, in March, 1914, appropriated $200 as its prorata, nothing has been heard or received. The first important work undertaken was completed and is awaiting publication by either the Illinois or Michigan Historical commissions.

Continuing the work begun at the time of the celebration of the Centennial of the Battle of New Orleans, data and names regarding the soldiers who fought under General Jackson are still being collected in order to complete the records.

In commemoration of Huard des Monettes, who was a grenadier at the battle, a brass name-plate has been placed on the Cabildo walls, calling attention to this fact.

During the past summer a forty-foot gilt letter sign, reading, "Louisiana Historical Society," was placed on the front of the Cabildo and smaller signs at the entrance to the building and to the Society's room.

Administrative Work.

The administrative work performed by the Corresponding Secretary consisted of:

Writing business letter	300
Written notices announcing election to membership	74
Letters written in connection with library work	84
Notices sent out for monthly meetings	7200
Publications mailed to members and exchanges	750
Envelopes addressed for committees	1800
Corrections and additions to addressograph plates	133

Supplementing this report is given the list of officers and committee memberships of the Society and the names of new members elected in 1916.

Respectfully submitted,
Robert Glenk.

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Mr. Gaspar Cusachs.....President
Mr. John Dymond.....First Vice-President
Mr. T. P. Thompson.....Second Vice-President
Judge Henry Renshaw.....Third Vice-President
Mr. W. O. Hart.....Treasurer
Miss Grace King.....Recording Secretary
Mr. Robert Glenk.....Corresponding Secretary-Librarian

COMMITTEES.

Executive Committee.

Gaspar Cusachs, chairman; John Dymond, T. P. Thompson, Henry Renshaw, William O. Hart, Miss Grace King, and Robert Glenk.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.

Col. H. J. de la Vergne, chairman; Miss Emma Zacharie, George Koppel.

FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Justin F. Denechaud, chairman; Henry M. Gill, Sebastian Roy.

WORK AND ARCHIVES COMMITTEE.

Gaspar Cusachs, chairman; Grace King, Robert Glenk, William O. Hart, T. P. Thompson and A. B. Booth.

MEMBERSHIP.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Rev. A. Gordon Bakewell
Prof. E. L. Berthoud
Senor Juan Ant. Cavestany
Capt. T. J. Woodward
Hon. Murphy J. Foster
Mr. Peter J. Hamilton
David I. Bushnell, Jr.
Baron de Pontalba
Prof. Franklin L. Riley
Mr. Henry Vignaud
Mr. Albert Voorhies
Mrs. Josephine Clay
Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart

NEW MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1916.

Mrs. E. H. Clogston, 3004 Prytania street.
Emile V. Stier, Daily States Office.
C. E. Bray, Orpheum Theatre.
J. Fair Hardin, Leesville, La.
Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., L. S. U., Baton Rouge, La.
Joseph C. Behre, 1216 Royal street.
John L. Henning, Union Sulphur Co., Sulphur, La.
John P. Mayo, Commissioner of Immigration, New Orleans.
Mrs. Marie Seebold Molinary, 2322 Canal street.
P. Sefton Schneidau, 213 Hennen building.
Miss Mary M. Conway, Amelia and Dryades streets.
Mrs. M. F. Rice, 2824 Canal street.
Mrs. M. E. Dunlap, 403 Perrin building.
M. Picheloup, 1487 Moss street.
H. J. Gassie, 711 Hennen building.
Wyman Hoey, 315 Camp street.
F. Ralph Michel, 410 Weis building.
Dr. Howard W. Hamblin, 1104 Fairmount street, Washington, D. C.

H. R. Labouisse, 1544 Webster street.
Isaac J. Fowler, 8401 Panola street.
Alfred LeBlanc, 814 Gravier street.
Rev. J. A. Petit, 423 Valette street.
R. N. Sims, 310 New Orleans Court House.
Edward S. Luria, 410 Weis building.
B. P. Davidson, 1905 State street.
Coleman E. Adler, 722 Canal street.
J. W. Craddock, Hennen building annex.
C. B. Brown, New Orleans Country Club.
Rev. P. M. H. Wynhoven, 305 Camp street.
Mrs. Charles LeSassier, 44 West 22d street, New York.
Mr. Charles LeSassier, 44 West 22d street, New York.
Samuel A. Trufant, Jr., 1241 Philip street.
John Bernard Murphy, U. S. Immigration building.
Edw. C. Palmer, 435 Camp street.
Dr. H. B. Seebold, 222 Macheca building.
Miss Venetia Torre, 8215 Pritchard Place.
H. H. White, Alexandria, La.
Edwin S. Ferguson, 849 Commerce street.
Frank C. Fegley, 607 Nashville avenue.
Mrs. Benjamin S. Story, 7431 St. Charles avenue.
Clarence F. Low, L., L. & G. Insurance Co.
Very Rev. F. Racine, St. Louis Cathedral.
C. A. Hartwell, 213 Baronne street.
Mrs. W. B. Thayer, 4570 Warwick Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri.
Miss Elizabeth Pinckard, 2621 Prytania street.
Louis J. Hennessey, Association of Commerce building.
Miss Emilie De Lavigne, 2309 Columbus street.
Roger Arnault, 727 Common street.
J. T. Buddecke, 401 Hibernia building.
James Wilkinson, 137 Carondelet street.
G. A. Foster, Pollock, La.
R. W. Frame, 535 Poydras street.
Abraham Goldberg, Hibernia building.
Mrs. Emilie Lejeune, 1619 South Rampart street.
Miss Anne D. Nesom, 1772 Prytania street.
Dr. L. M. Provosty, Macheca building.
A. T. Terry, 139 Carondelet street.
Mrs. James Wilkinson, 1325 Esplanade avenue.
Charles J. Rivet, 727 Common street.
Mrs. J. E. Friend, 1807 Palmer avenue.
Miss Blanche McConnell, 1313 Eighth street.
L. D. Sampsell, 4908 Camp street.

Mrs. S. LeBourgeois Green, 1212 Valence street.
Rev. J. J. O'Brien, 6363 St. Charles avenue.
Mrs. Alfred Webre, 1212 Valence street.
Dr. Joseph Holt, 2120 Prytania street.
Mr. Harry B. Loeb, 1520 Seventh street.
Mr. Palmer Davidson, 1905 State street.
Mr. John J. Gannon, Hibernia building.
Mr. Gilbert Pemberton, New Orleans.
Mr. Robert Rebentisch, 915 Nashville avenue.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Louisiana Historical Society

New Orleans, Louisiana

Proceedings and Reports, 1917

VOLUME X

New Orleans
The Louisiana Historical Society
1918

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Louisiana Historical Society

New Orleans, Louisiana

Proceedings and Reports, 1917

VOLUME X

New Orleans
The Louisiana Historical Society
1918

CONTENTS

	Page
Meeting of February, 1917	7
Paper read by Mr. T. P. Thompson	7
The City Beautiful—By Jas Renshaw	11
Minutes of March, 1917	23
Meeting of April, 1917	24
Review of Banking in New Orleans, 1830-1840—By S. A. Trufant	25
Meeting of May, 1917	40
The American Flag—By T. P. Thompson	43
Meeting of June, 1917	45
History of the Washington Artillery—By Major Allison Owen	46
Old Glory, Flag of Prophecy—By T. P. Thompson	59
Meeting of July, 1917	63
A Review of the Paper of Major Allison Owen on the History of the Washington Artillery—By Dr. Jos. Holt	64
Meeting of October, 1917	67
The Story of Marksville, La.—By Joe Mitchell Pilcher	68
Meeting of November, 1917	86
The Real Philip Nolan—By Grace King	87
Meeting of December, 1917	113
Some Observations Regarding the Carnival—By W. O. Hart	114
Tribute to Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart—By Wm. Beer	115
Annual Report of the Treasurer, W. O. Hart, for 1917	122
Report of Robt. Glenk, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian	123
List of Officers of the Louisiana Historical Society	132
Constitution	133
Papers Published in the Proceedings of the Louisiana Historical Society, Vols. 1 to 10, 1895-1917	135

INTRODUCTION.

The work of the Louisiana Historical Society during the past year has maintained its good standard, and the session of 1917 shows no diminution in the strength nor the interest of its members, in spite of the fact that the terrible war raging with incredible fury in the Old World, finally involved our own country in its direful activities. Our young men, responding to the call of patriotism, have quit their homes and civil occupations to fill up the military quota assessed upon our State. Our young women have likewise enlisted with enthusiasm to carry on the war work demanded of them.

The Historical Society, facing an epoch of such enormous vital responsibility, has contributed liberally in books and money and in hearty encouragement in every way possible to the stimulation of public spirit and the fostering of devoted allegiance to a cause, preëminently one of humanity and civilization; and it has been able also to pursue the even tenor of its programme, marked out in time of peace, for the advancement of its scholarly historical ideals and the true purpose of its institution.

The first item on the programme was the important event of the celebration of the bi-centennial of the founding of New Orleans by Bienville; a celebration inaugurated in France.

Although not officially entrusted with the charge of the ceremonies for the occasion, which were appropriately assumed by the city government, the Society necessarily gave much of its time and study to furthering the fitting historical preparations for such a great event, centralizing its work on the era of Bienville and the early colonization of the State. Individual members heading the committees appointed by the Mayor, generously responded with books, maps and the carefully matured fruits (many of them) of a lifelong study of the subject, thus amassing much new material and data embodied in papers and addresses, delivered not only in the meetings of the Society, but in a pre-commemoration celebration held in the City Hall on October 24th in honor of the proceedings held in Paris on that date to commemorate the decree authorizing the founding of New Orleans by Bienville.

Circumstances, however, arising from the inevitable consequences of the war conditions, frustrated the accomplishment of the city's carefully elaborated programme for the celebration. With heart-burning regret the bi-centennial committee appointed by the Mayor saw themselves forced to defer it to some period, when it was hoped a more propitious season for popular festivities would have dawned.

In the meantime the proposition to preserve the Bienville documents was carried into effect, and the Historical Society has dedicated one number of its quarterly publication to those worthy of perpetuation in print; this number to be known as the Bienville Memorial Number.

In this connection it is proper to make mention of the very handsome contribution by the French Government to our New Orleans historical collections of the scholarly and elegant "Histoire de la Fondation de la Nouvelle Orléans," by the Baron Marc de Villiers, carrying a preface by the distinguished Gabriel Hannotaux, member of the French Academy. The book is a most perfect example of the artistic perfection of the "Imprimerie Nationale" of France.

The French Government, also in honor of the occasion, has caused a commemorative medal to be engraved; also a specimen of its most exquisite numismatic work.

Many of the city officials and members of the Society have been honored by the award of this valuable book and this handsome medal.

The reports of the Treasurer and Corresponding Secretary at the end of this volume carry the record of the further work of the Society. Some essays, as will be seen, are of prime interest and importance to historical lovers and students, although the table of contents shows the depletion caused by the drafting of many of its papers into the quarterly publication.

GRACE KING,
Secretary.

MEETING OF FEBRUARY, 1917.

The regular monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society took place February 21st, at the Cabildo, with President Cusachs in the chair and a good attendance of members present.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Thompson, making a report for the Bi-Centennial Committee, said that the French Republic had taken up the matter of celebrating the event in Paris in February, 1918, and that a delegation was to be sent to New Orleans to coöperate with the celebration here.

The speaker of the evening was then introduced, Mr. James Renshaw, whose paper, "The City Beautiful," gave an interesting account of reminiscences and events of former days in New Orleans. A vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Renshaw and the paper ordered to be printed in the Society's reports.

Mr. Dymond spoke of the old Carrollton steam trains and of the steamboat days on the Mississippi River.

Mrs. Stem stated that it was her father who owned the omnibusses which formerly operated in New Orleans, bringing them from Boston by boat.

The following were nominated for membership and unanimously elected: A. Aschaffenberg, Dr. Félix Gaudin, Mr. Etienne Reynes, Mrs. Edward Wisner, Mrs. J. Govan.

Mr. H. W. Robinson presented to the Society a copy of the New Orleans *Democrat* of September 14, 1874, and of the New Orleans *Picayune* of September 27, 1874.

The amendment to the by-laws, changing the date of meeting of the Society, was laid over to another meeting.

The meeting then adjourned.

R. Glenk,
Corresponding Secretary.

PAPER READ BY MR. T. P. THOMPSON.

The original Province of Louisiana, as claimed by LaSalle in 1682 for France, by right of the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi River, also that territory acquired later by settlements on the Gulf coast and on Mobile Bay by Iberville, included that vast domain stretching all the way from Lake Chatauqua, in New York State, to Yellowstone Lake, in Wyoming, even ex-

tending northward into the Canadian province of Alberta, as shown on to-day's map.

Roughly defined, original Louisiana, under French rule, included the Mississippi Basin to the sources of all streams that flowed into the Father of Waters, also the valleys of the Alabama and Mobile rivers, as high as Fort Toulouse, near the present site of Montgomery, and up the Tombigbee to the Choctaw Indian Nation, near to-day's Alabama State boundary line.

All this country, including the farther Western reserve, from which Texas, also Oregon—great Commonwealths—were created, was understood by the early French Governors as being the territory of the Province of Louisiana. Several locations were successively tried as governing seat for this vast domain.

Louis XIV, in 1698, took up the work of colonization in the lower Mississippi Valley section. Iberville, a native of Canada, was put in charge of the first expedition. He reached the Gulf of Mexico on his brigatin, Pelican, and selected a location on Biloxi Bay (near Mississippi City), and built on the site a post, which he named from the original Indian settlement,—Biloxi.

In March 1699, Iberville first entered the mouth of the Mississippi. Old Biloxi proving not healthy,—being surrounded by morass, and not on a waterway that led into the interior of the country,—in 1702 Iberville gave orders for a new settlement, which was located on the west side of Mobile River, eighteen leagues from the sea, and here was built Fort Louis de la Mobile.

This site, because of its halfway location between the Spanish of Pensacola and the Indians of the Alabama country, and for its waterway communications, with good harbor, was considered excellent for trade.

Inundations from the river led to the next change, in 1711, to the present site of Mobile, which later became the capital of the Province.

To stay English aggression, Fort Toulouse was built in 1714 on the upper waters of the Alabama River. Later, 1736, to the same end, Fort Tombeckbee was erected, not far from the Choctaw settlements. The friendliness of these Indians was cultivated by the French. These two posts indicated the frontiers of the French settlements, and served to prevent the English from encroaching on the lower Mississippi Valley country.

The discovery of an English vessel from the Carolinas, attempting to ascend the Mississippi in 1700, caused the French to construct a fort near the mouth of that river. This was located on the west side, some fifty-four miles above the pass, and named Fort Mississippi. Here our hero, Bienville, then commandant, had his official residence, erecting some five or six barracks for his soldiers and a neat house for himself.

Here were Bienville's headquarters until 1705, during which time he was almost constantly engaged in exploration and in the locating of outposts for the exploitations of commerce with the Indians. Mobile, however, remained the official seat of government until the founding of New Orleans.

In 1717, Bienville determined on a site for a new village; this, he decided, should be located on the Mississippi River at the Bayou St. John portage path, at a point where it reached the Mississippi River. This move was made in the interest of the development of trade with the Spaniards at Nachidoches and the Indians near Fort Rosalie (Natchez), which had been established the year before.

The Company of the West, of which John Law was Director General, acquired in 1717 from the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, the sole trading rights of the Louisiana Province. M. de l'Epinay was appointed Governor to succeed Cadillac in 1716. Bienville being Commander-in-Chief in the absence of l'Epinay.

On the 9th of March, 1717, M. de l'Epinay landed at Dauphine Island and presented Bienville with the Cross of St. Louis, sent to him by the King.

Bienville finally received his commission as Governor on the 9th of February, 1718. His first act was to make arrangements for his settlement of the site selected the year before, and to which, according to Penicaut, the historian of the Annals of Louisiana, who was with Bienville then, he had "sent workmen and laborers the year before (1717), to lay the foundation of the future capital of Louisiana."

They removed the trees and brushes, traced the streets and squares and dug drains around each.

New Orleans was an imaginative picture in Bienville's brain from his appointment in August, 1717. The site he selected in September, same year, and the clearing made with final arrange-

ment of streets, canals and levee was completed in February, 1718.

The Crown ceded the Province of Louisiana to the Company of the West in August, 1717. The decree of September 27, 1717, included also the Illinois country, and ordered the location of Nouvelle Orléans on the Great River.

There had been for several years a few log cabins along the river front above Fort Mississippi. The selection of the site of the Vieux Carré, as has been said, was suggested by the original Indian trail or portage, which started from Bayou St. John and ended on Hospital Street, on the river bank just below Jackson Square, which was then laid out as Place d'Armes by Bienville, forming the center of a parallelogram of nine by five squares, or islets of 300 by 300 feet each. Being on sea level soil, these islets were ditched about and canals leading into Bayou St. John carried off the rain water. The church site and official buildings were also laid out at this time.

Very shortly the river, which, normally, was eight feet below the bank, began to overflow the infant city, and Bienville constructed the first levee, six feet in height and extending above and below the new settlement.

A great storm in 1721 threw down all of his lightly constructed houses, some four hundred in number. The first historian of New Orleans, Charlevoix, found one hundred had been restored by the following year.

The first seagoing vessel to tie up at the site of New Orleans was the brigatin "le Neptune," sent from France in 1717 with supplies, and directed to remain permanently in Louisiana. This boat brought over the first inhabitants for New Orleans in February, 1718, starting on her journey from a point near Gulfport of to-day, coming into the mouth of the river and landing at Bienville's clearing.

Accompanying Bienville were his engineers, de la Tour and Pauger, and many distinguished officers and marines with their families.

The ceremonial of laying out the public square, locating the church and government buildings was followed by a visit to the Oumas Indian village on the bayou at about the present site of City Park, which we hope to have christened as Bienville Park in 1918, and to locate within its entrance a memorial to the

Founder of New Orleans who, until his death, just after the cession to Spain, was ever ready, even in his old age, to care for his children, the inhabitants of his own city, which he had named for his patron, the Regent Duke of Orleans, whose love of pageantry began and developed the celebration by costume balls in Paris of the Carnival season preceding Mardi Gras.

So, while we are celebrating the founding of New Orleans, we may, incidentally, also chronicle the two hundredth anniversary of the Regency balls, which were the beginnings of the Carnival tableaux and pageantry held in Paris for the first time under the patronage of the Duc d'Orleans in 1718, at the Grand Opera House, three times a week preceding Mardi Gras.

These are to-day repeated every year most elaborately in our various "Kings'" balls of the New Orleans Carnival, Bienville's city.

THE CITY BEAUTIFUL.

A Tale of Changes in New Orleans During a Lifetime.

By James Renshaw.

(Note.—Much of the matter embodied here was written by the author of this article and published some few years ago in the *Times-Democrat.*)

It is not the purpose of this paper to give the statistical development that has occurred during the two centuries which have almost passed since the foundation of New Orleans, but to touch lightly upon the various changes which have happened since the few squares were originally marked off until the present time, when the city extends from the Jefferson Parish line on both sides of the river to Plaquemines Parish on the right bank and to St. Bernard Parish on the left bank, while on the side bordering Lake Pontchartrain the territory stretches to the Rigolets, a tract embracing 196¼ square miles and containing approximately some 75,000 to 80,000 buildings of all kinds; and more especially to bring prominently into view those changes in the inner life of the city, changes which were so gradually developed that perhaps only those immediately concerned took more than a momentary notice of them, and which, though some are even of comparatively recent date, are forgotten or are but dimly pictured in memory.

The little village, notwithstanding it had its full share of infantile troubles, grew; expanding on its lower limits through the incoming of a sturdy population into what is now known as the Third District, the old town being the nucleus of the Second District, while across the upper boundary, Canal Street, the American inflow settled, and that section is now called the First District. In time, commencing at Felicity Street, then called Felicity Road, the little community of Lafayette extended on up, gradually developing into what we now term the Fourth District, and which for quite a period was prettily designated the Garden District of New Orleans. From Toledano Street to Joseph Street was the town of Jefferson City; and, skipping over some interlying tracts of land, from Lower Line on further up, was the town of Carrollton. These two separate towns, with the other mentioned territory, now form part of New Orleans, being the Sixth and Seventh Districts. Upper Line was one of the boundaries of the Bouligny tract, and was in Jefferson City, while Carrollton on its lower side was bounded, as stated, by Lower Line, giving rise to what must now seem to the uninitiated a twisted state of affairs, for Upper Line is below Lower Line as the streets run. Across the river was the town of Algiers, which also in time was annexed to and became part of New Orleans as the Fifth District. The extension along the Lake Pontchartrain border was the result in part at least of political exigency, during the time of negro prominence as a voting power. Thus the little plot of ground laid out by Bienville in 1718 has grown into the present City of New Orleans.

Probably not one-half of those who live to-day in the beautiful residences that border St. Charles Avenue remember when that thoroughfare upward from Lee Circle, then called Tivoli, was known as Nayades Street; or that the central ground was the roadbed for steam trains between Carrollton and this city, and yet such was the case not so many years ago. We forget things fast.

On that little piece of ground forming the upper river corner of Baronne and Perdido Streets, and where, by the way, was subsequently erected a theatre for the production of German plays in the vernacular, and which building itself now is only a thing of memory, having been supplanted by the De Soto Hotel, was the initial depot. From here up Baronne Street, around Triton

Walk, now known as Howard Avenue, and cutting its way through where at present stand Ford's animal hospital, the long cars of the train were drawn by horses. At this point the change was made from animal to steam power, the depot covering the space from Carondelet (then Apollo) Street through to St. Charles, which, as already stated, was Nayades. On a great portion of this ground to-day is our handsome Public Library.

It was a regularly appointed steam train that carried the people—several long passenger coaches and the steam locomotive. Regular stops were made along the route, the first at a station located midway between Polymnia and Felicity Streets, until the terminus was reached at Carrollton. From here the railway continued on out to the lake shore, where one among the finest of the city's restaurants was located, and where other accommodations for rest or pleasure were to be found.

At Carrollton, between the depot and the roadway running parallel with the river, was the Carrollton Garden, with its long two-storied frame hotel, its pretty walks, its lovely plants and flowers, its fountain with the ever-falling and ascending ball, and its swings for the children. On a Sunday afternoon, particularly, the place was alive with pleasure seekers, both old and young. How many a frosted-haired merchant of to-day could tell of his innocent rambles there; how many a grandmother perhaps here first heard whispered the words of love, while the roses swayed and nodded to the caressing breezes from the great river just in sight. It was the one place, it might be said, where the city's population met.

But the garden has passed out of sight; the lake end is dismantled; and only its pleasant memories remain to the older set. All the open spaces between Carrollton and Louisiana Avenue, which were once the tempting crawfish grounds for the schoolboys' Saturday frolics, are now built up with handsome residences.

Oh! what delightful recollections cluster around those Saturday frolics, when a half-dozen youngsters would start out with their bucket and string and bait, and loiter half the day under the big oaks that sheltered Delachaise and Burtheville. And when the fragrant acacia was in bloom, how pockets bulged out with the sweet-scented yellow balls, that mothers took gladly in pay for all the trouble that sunburned and muddied children

gave. The last bush, probably, may still be found in the vacant half-square at Prytania and Leontine Streets, adjoining the Flaspoller residence.

The old line of double-decker horse cars ran out Jackson Avenue over the same course as the trolleys of to-day, stopping on Baronne at Canal Street. These cars were divided into compartments, with seats arranged crosswise and facing each other, with a long step on each side, the entire length of the car, enabling the conductor to pass back and forth to collect his fares. At the end of the car was a narrow stairway leading to the top, and there, running lengthwise along the center, was a double row of seats with one common back. While the compartments below were provided for the accommodation respectively of ladies, and of white and of colored patrons, upstairs was for whites, and, generally from the very nature of things, used only by men. And a jolly ride it was in the cool of a summer evening.

The Westfeldt residence, on Prytania Street, was built by an old-time citizen, Mr. Toby; and he must have been a patron of this line of cars, for he caused to be erected, as a protection against inclement weather, a shed, or little station, at the corner of Jackson and Prytania, where the drug store now stands. The spot soon became familiarly known as Toby's corner, and the name clung to it for some little while.

What a fine old set some of the earlier city fathers must have been, as witness the naming of the streets. The nine muses still remain in Calliope, Clio, Erato, Thalia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Euterpe, Polymnia and Urania, while the Dryades still keep them company; but the Nayades have vanished, and even graceful Apollo and jolly Bacchus no longer adorn their respective street corners, but have given way to Carondelet and Baronne from Triton Walk (Howard Avenue) up.

In these days of rapid transit, as exemplified by the electric car, we are apt to forget of what recent date the system is, and the earlier methods of transportation fade from our memories like a dream of the night. And yet not very many years back the laying of the rails for the mule cars, while furthered by some, was by others regarded as a disturbing element, for they argued that the streets would be disfigured, if not even rendered useless for other traffic. At that time, and it does not require the hunting up of any over-elderly resident to tell of it, the old lumbering

omnibus, drawn by two horses, the entrance at the rear, the driver perched on top at the front with a little opening by his seat through which the fare was paid, and a long leather strap passing from his foot to the door, by means of which it was closed after the entrance or departure of a passenger, and by pulling which the desire for a stop was conveyed, did duty in hauling the business man to and from his store, or some lady bent on her shopping quest.

Nor did these 'busses run over as smooth a bed as our present asphalted streets allow, for then the paving was all done with that abomination of cobblestone, which the many sailing vessels then frequenting the port would bring over as ballast for want of freight. To any one not an actual participant in the delights of such a jolting ride, imagination will have to lend its aid; and yet there were dyspeptics even then. Canal Street was, as now, the dividing line between up and down town, and to and from this common point the vehicles wended their way for the convenience of their patrons from the upper or lower districts. The routes were mainly over the same streets as are now used by the cars, though not in as great number and by no means extending such distances.

The Tchoupitoulas 'bus went as far as the old stock landing at the foot of Louisiana Avenue; the Magazine line went up to the old barn at Pleasant Street; the stables for the Prytania route being at Urania Streets, woods side, now adorned by a stately residence, while the Pontchartrain depot and points further back were the termini of the downtown lines.

Nor was Canal Street then the great thoroughfare it now is for the feminine portion of the population. Chartres Street was the site for the leading modistes and retail dry goods establishments, and at that period was the Mecca of the fashionable set in their search for bonnets and ribbons and laces and all the finery that women so love to buy and men so like to see them wear. Mme. Olympe, whose reputation as modiste extended far beyond the limits of the city, had her establishment at the corner of Customhouse, now known as Iberville Street; but later followed the exodus up to Canal Street, the pioneers in which move were at the time regarded as undertaking a most dangerous experiment. There were Holmes, and Barriere, and Haggerty, and Giquel, and Jamison, Holmes being probably the first to

change quarters, the others following from time to time. And yet in comparatively few years the change has been so complete that we are prone to regard Canal as always having been fashion's great resort.

Where the Rathskeller is now was formerly a theatrical point, having been occupied by the Audubon Theatre, which was before that time the Academy of Music; but the stage in earlier years was so arranged as to be easily converted into a sawdust ring for circus performances; and there many of our people, still boasting of youthful appearance, were wont to go into raptures over the trick horses and funny clowns. Through an alleyway, extending back into Camp Street, the horses were brought into the ring, and many a citizen of to-day has doubtless stood at the entrance in boyish admiration of the well-trained steeds.

Before the electric system was adopted, gas was the medium for lighting the city; and before that, still not so very long ago, the lamps were fed with oil, and not the coal-oil of to-day either. How the youngsters would watch with glee for the coming of the lamplighter, with his little ladder to mount to the lamp, his rags to clean the protecting glass, and his matches to complete the work. Viewed from our present surroundings the methods of those days seem primitive, but they were good old days for all that.

The site now occupied by Soulé's College was not so very long back a police station, or calaboose, as was the familiar term then, and in it have been confined over night all manner of disorderly persons, including many notable criminals. The Recorder's Court for that district held its sessions there and disposed of the various offenders that were brought before the bar.

Lafayette Square, which in earlier years was devoid of any statuary, was surrounded, as indeed were all similar parks in the city, by a tall iron railing. Here the military were accustomed to assemble on any great holiday requiring the parade of the militia, and the gathering was always a brilliant one. The old Washington Artillery, whose quarters were then in Girod Street, midway between St. Charles and Carondelet, would have its cannon in the square to boom forth the necessary salutes. Residents in the neighborhood had to take great care to have their windows open, or else suffer the consequences in broken panes of glass. There were some very fine military companies in

those days, and the occasions of their out-turn drew admiring throngs of both sexes.

On this square, near where the McDonogh bust now stands, was sunk an artesian well; but the flow was not what had been anticipated, and the original purpose of it was necessarily abandoned. But for quite a while it was allowed to remain open, its slowly flowing waters gradually becoming considered by the populace as possessing some great medicinal power. The result was that many gathered there at all hours to drink, or bringing the necessary utensils, from glass pitcher to any old empty can, would carry off a supply of water to their homes. The craze lasted for quite a while and then quietly died out.

Canal Street, as may be readily inferred from its name, was the location of an open drain along the neutral ground. This was gradually filled up, but for a long while from Claiborne back the unsightly canal was covered by planks, and this protection afforded the roadbed for the car tracks. The neighborhood along this portion remained but sparsely settled until of recent years, and where now are many handsome residences, was at that period very little better than a quagmire. The original intention, or perhaps hope would be the better word, of our then city fathers, was to have statues at various intersections of Canal Street, and the former location of Clay Statue at Royal Street, since removed to Lafayette Square, shows the preparation for such a scheme. What a beautiful thoroughfare would have been the result, unequaled perhaps anywhere in the Union; but misfortunes overtook the city, as they did the individual resident, as a result of the great Civil War, and such schemes of beautification proved only idle dreams. Later on the practical age developed, and in lieu of ornamentation we have to-day the centralization of a grand street car system that excites the wonder of the stranger with us.

Christ Church, now one of the beauty spots of the upper district, stood formerly at the corner of Canal and Dauphine, where the Maison Blanche is now located. Men and women of to-day were there baptized, confirmed and married; and yet there are doubtless many who know it only as a dry goods mart. About 1840 Christ Church was at the corner of Canal and Bourbon, and next thereto was the residence of Judah Touro, while other homes were strung along the block. The workshops of

Nicholas Sinnott, the first builder of note in New Orleans, were in earlier years at the Fellman corner, the present building on which was originally erected for the Pickwick Club.

Where stand now the Tulane and Crescent Theatres, with the stores in front, were formerly the buildings of the old University of Louisiana, three in number, the academic, at the corner of Baronne, the Law School at Dryades, later called University Place, and the Medical School in the center; but with the founding of Tulane University these in time disappeared. On the rear side of the theatres, facing University Place, formerly stood Tulane Hall, known originally as the Mechanics and Agricultural Fair Association building. Its name signifies the purpose of the organization. Converted just after the war into a State House, it was the scene of one of the bloodiest riots that ever burst forth in this city. Later on it was the arsenal of the Louisiana Field Artillery, but has now disappeared in the erection of the Grunewald Hotel annex.

Our magnificent postoffice indicates the growth of the city, for just below where the Sazerac saloon now stands, running through from Royal to Exchange Alley, was at one time the location of the postoffice, with the United States Court on the floor above, later to be moved into capacious quarters in the Custom House, and then for want of room, transferred to its own grand building fronting Lafayette Square.

The steamboat trade, such as one knew a generation or more ago, has passed out of view; and while our wharves now are lined with many steamships, the older ones of us must miss the vast number of sailing vessels, from brigatines to full-rigged ships, that formerly discharged and took on cargo at the riverside three, four and five abreast. They were there from the lower limits to the upper, except at that portion always reserved for the immense river traffic proper; and they gave an appearance, if indeed it was not an actual reality, of vast trade. Nor must one overlook the great flatboat business, which was a feature in itself. Quantities of produce from the great upper States were thus floated down stream, the owners disposing of their boats here, which were broken up and the timber used in various ways. Some of the best constructed frame buildings of the city owe their origin to this custom, and their excellent state of preservation attests the wisdom of the period.

How many of the older residents remember with pleasure the frequent visits to the French Market of their earlier days, and yet with a feeling akin to sadness. Then the Indians, with their baskets, and blow-guns, and sassafras, were a feature that gave an undeniable charm to the surroundings; but these have practically all disappeared, and the blow-gun of the youth of that time is a thing unknown to the child of to-day. Once now and then perhaps some representative of the race may put in an appearance, with a few sweet plantain leaves and a little filé, but the Indians of other days have gone, with none to take their place. The market is still there, but the life that made it what it was has become a thing of the past. A jaunt then in the old market place, with its neighboring stores all alive with trade, the banquettes filled with rabais dealers and squatting Indians, the accustomed cup of chocolate or coffee at the stand, was a delight; but now it savors more of duty, and as a duty with that much less of pleasure in it. Of course, one still occasionally makes the journey thither, but even the flowers in Jackson Square seem less redolent of perfume, and the old Cathedral to have become, in a way modernized, so alive is one to the little things that after all, make up life.

The Boys' High School in earlier years was at the corner of Camp and Melpomene. Coliseum Place near by afforded a convenient and much used space for the fun of recess time, and many of the older men of to-day can doubtless recall their tricks and pranks at that time and place.

Camp street, a half-century or so ago, was used to a great extent for the offices of some of the large mercantile firms of that time. The handling of tobacco from Kentucky and Tennessee and other points was a lucrative and flourishing business then; and along Camp Street, say from Poydras down, could be found the counting rooms of these old-time representatives of a good part of the city's wealth. Were the old signboards suddenly replaced, the change would indeed be great, though the individual names in many instances would still be familiar ones. People then dined not at such fashionable hours as now, so that after the 3 o'clock meal these old merchants, during the warmer seasons of the year, might be seen in friendly chat seated in their doorways, or on the pavement near by, in the old-time roomy black painted armchairs so much a part of the office furniture of those

days. Carondelet Street, however, soon became a rival of Camp, and a successful one, too, but it does not require a very aged man to remember the time when a cotton press yard occupied the square bounded by Baronne, Perdido and Union Streets. Baronne Street much later was fitted up with office buildings. Along this street were the old-time slave marts; but the march of improvement obliterated practically all of these buildings, while happily the huge well-painted signs on any that may be left have faded out, and there remains nothing in the surroundings to force unpleasant memories.

At the corner of Camp and Common, where is to-day the handsome hardware establishment of A. Baldwin & Co., Ltd., was in former times the City Hotel, with its big verandahs the width of the pavement, extending the entire front and side facing these two streets. Always well patronized, its popularity was wonderfully increased, more particularly among the residents of Texas and of the interior of Louisiana, through the kindness shown by proprietors to the returning Confederate soldiers at the close of the war.

Milneburg, now sadly deteriorated, offered in the earlier days attractions for the pent-up residents of the city's most crowded portions; and its fame at that time was carried to the four quarters of the world through the writings of at least one eminent visitor who had partaken of the hospitality of one or the other of its restaurants. Those were gala days in the life of that little settlement; and when thereto are added all the stir and bustle of the large traffic between that point and Mobile, as well as with the interlying coast resorts, one can readily picture a scene of activity and of social delights.

There was then no connecting line of railroad between New Orleans and Alabama's city, though the matter of building one had been strenuously urged even in that day, and would have been doubtless carried out but for the refusal of Mobile to grant the necessary entrance, for fear that that town might lose some of its importance and become but a way-station to the larger Crescent City. The old Creole, and Florida, and Oregon, and California were some of the low-pressure steamers that had a practical monopoly of the water trade, and the old-time habitues of the coast watering places could only reach their summer residences then by means of these boats. How crowded they were, particu-

larly of a Saturday afternoon, when then, as now, the weekly outpouring of heads of families, or of those in quest of an over-Sunday outing took place. The trips had the disadvantage in time, as compared with rail travel now, but they had in a measure compensating pleasures in the delights of a not overlong water-ride.

Naturally with the change at Milneburg came the resulting lack of activity at this end of the Pontchartrain Railroad, with its diminutive depot at the head of Elysian Fields Street. Indeed, with the rapid alterations that have come to the city, no portion seems to have changed more than, if as much, that known as the Second District. Here began the life of the city, and as a consequence here centered, for quite a while, all its vital powers. Many of the old-time merchants had here their residences, with their counting rooms on the ground floor, but these evidences of the grandeur of that time have slowly but effectually passed away, till now the big buildings give no sign of the purpose of their construction. The old St. Louis Hotel has passed away, while the Bank of Louisiana, the old Union Bank, and the original Citizens' Bank building on Toulouse Street are but memories. Jackson Square, with its venerable Cathedral and the Cabildo overlooking and flanked by the Pontalba buildings, was once the center of fashionable life.

In very much earlier days the barracks of the troops, under both French and Spanish regime, were located, facing the river, between Barracks and Ursuline Streets. In a lecture delivered some little while back before this Society, evidence was adduced, establishing beyond question that the opinion was correct, which located in these grounds the execution of the order of Don Alexandro O'Reilley, which condemned to death by shooting Lafreniere, Noyan, Caresse, Marquis and Milhet. What garlands of romance one could weave from the life of those earlier times, but this paper is but a rambling sketch of the changes that have come but of late years, and there is enough in that to interest and to wonder at.

On Canal Street, near Claiborne, on the upper side, was the residence of old Dr. Warren Stone, alongside of which, at the corner, stood the private hospital which he erected and to which he gave so much of his time and care. About opposite, on the lower side of Canal, was a large cotton press yard; this, too, has

passed, but only so recently that one may be pardoned in thinking one can still hear the echoes of the mighty steam power used in the compressing of the bales.

Fashion, after all, governs in streets and localities, as it does in women's attire, though the changes are much slower and more lasting. Without mention of the lower districts, where, by the way, are some beautiful buildings with more or less historical associations, the trend is all up town. Not so very long since Julia Street row, extending from Camp to St. Charles, was peopled by aristocratic families; likewise the buildings on Carondelet, between Lafayette and Girod, while all the neighboring thoroughfares were eagerly sought for residence sites. In the little cottage still standing on the river side of Camp Street, above Julia, was the then well-patronized Macauley School for young ladies, where many of the older society women of the present were instructed in their girlhood days.

As the city expanded, Annunciation to Prytania inclusive, extending up in varying degrees to about Louisiana Avenue, became a favorite locality; some of these streets have lost the popularity of those days, but the commodious dwellings still standing all attest how much of the city's life was centered there. First one and then another, lost its hold upon public favor, and now upper St. Charles marks the line about which fashion gathers.

For a long while Canal Street remained neglected, and only of recent years has that portion from about Claiborne out been built up. In the days of the old Metairie race course, now the Metaire Cemetery, Common Street afforded the means of communication, and during the time given up to such sport, it was lined with carriages and buggies, all speeding thither that their occupants might witness the contests, than which no greater have ever been held in this country. Nor was Common Street deserted by travel at other times, for the shell road, which still exists along the New Basin, was the favorite drive of those days. West End was not then what it is now, but it had its public resorts that are pleasant memories to many of our people. The New Basin road was the great speedway, and "2:40 on the shell road" was the one expression of all the youngsters of the day for rapid motion. Then the ownership of a horse, or the means necessary to hire one, was a prerequisite to reaching this part of Lake Pontchartrain; but during the Federal occupation of the city a railway

was constructed on the lower side of the Basin by the military, which road, with the continued improvements of later days, now affords a much sought-for outing for the masses.

There is much more than could be told, but what has been given shows the wonderful changes which have taken place.

There is a charm in the touch of old age that even the freshness of youth cannot outrival; there is a charm in old association that recalls the glories of the past; there is a charm in listening to the whisperings of years gone by—may the future bring to New Orleans no changes that will make it less the City Beautiful!

MINUTES OF MARCH 19.

The regular monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society took place on Wednesday evening the 28th, at the Cabildo. All the officers were present, and there was a full attendance of members and friends.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The following were elected members of the Society:

S. Locke Breaux, 1907 Prytania Street.
M. Augustin, 322 Baronne Street.
John Marshall, State House, Baton Rouge.
Alfred Slidel, 136 Carondelet Street.
R. D. Reeves, 3106 Nashville, Avenue.
Mrs. George Koppel, 324 Bermuda Street, Fifth District.
Frank Henning, 718 Pelican Avenue, Fifth District.
Gustave Pitot, New Orleans.

Mr. Hart presented two very interesting and unique documents to the Society; the commission to the postmastership of Campti, Parish of Natchitoches, issued in 1845 to Jacob A. Wolfson by the United States, and the commission to the same officer by the Confederate States Government, in 1862. Mr. Hart was thanked by the Society. He then read an extract from an old paper dated 8th of January, 1855, giving in honor of the day, a spirited account of the always interesting Battle of New Orleans.

The paper of the evening was contributed by Miss Grace King on the "Notes Bibliographiques de Boismare, Published in Paris in 1855," a rare and most interesting manuscript

belonging to Mr. T. P. Thompson's collection of Americana and kindly lent by him to the Society for publication.

Boismare was, in 1825, a bookseller in New Orleans, located at 137 Chartres Street, and later 135 Royal, where he had also a circulating library.

At the close of Miss King's paper there were some pleasant reminiscences indulged in by the members interested in Bibliographical studies.

Judge Renshaw, with a few appropriate introductory remarks, submitted the following resolution, which, after some discussion, was adopted and the matter referred to the Executive Committee:

"Resolved, That the Executive Committee of this Society is hereby requested to take under consideration the subject of the founding of New Orleans, and to report in writing as early as practicable."

The question of purchasing photographs of the dispatches of the Spanish Governors of Louisiana, 1766-1791, now compiled by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was also referred to the Executive Committee.

Mr. Hart's motion on the change in day of the monthly meetings, which had been laid over for several meetings, was acted on, with the result that it was decided that the day be changed from the third Wednesday to the third Tuesday of the month.

There being no further business the Society adjourned.

MEETING OF APRIL, 1917.

The regular monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society was held at the Cabildo on Tuesday evening April 18th.

There was a very small attendance, owing to a strike on the car lines. Most of the officers were present.

After the reading of the minutes, Mr. S. A. Trufant being introduced by the President, read what proved to be one of the most interesting papers ever presented before the Society, "A Review of Banking in New Orleans, 1830-1840." Although dealing with technical details of financiering, it gave a most pleasant summary of the political history of a period when banks played no inconsiderable part in the election of presidential candidates, notably in that of General Jackson over Henry Clay.

The paper suggested some pertinent questions asked by Mr. W. O. Hart, which Mr. Trufant answered.

Mr. Hart then recalled, àpropos of Jackson that John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, had proposed his then formidable rival for an appointment in Mexico, which, as is well known, Jackson declined.

Mr. John Dymond, in his usual interesting manner, related incidents and episodes of his early life in New Orleans, to which he came in 1866.

Mr. Trufant was given a vote of thanks.

Mr. Hart exhibited an interesting relic of the early days of banking in Louisiana, the reproduction of a note or bond given in 1837 for a sum of money borrowed from the old Bank of Louisiana (printed in the Hibernia Rabbit for December, 1916), which lead to further reminiscences of the Hibernia Bank by Mr. Dymond and others.

Mrs. Bruns, President of the Louisiana Branch of Colonial Dames, asked the Louisiana Historical Society's assistance in getting Congress to pass favorably a resolution to make a National Park on the site of Chalmette.

Mr. James Wilkinson also spoke in favor of the measure, and praised the noble avenue of oaks growing at Chalmette, as themselves worthy of national recognition and preservation. Other members also spoke in support of Mrs. Bruns' petition; and a motion endorsing it was passed unanimously.

The Society then adjourned.

REVIEW OF BANKING IN NEW ORLEANS, 1830-1840.

By S. A. TRUFANT.

Vincent Nolte, in his very interesting memoirs, entitled "Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres," tells us that in 1821 New Orleans did not possess one single paved street. In 1822 the City Council, recognizing the necessity for some improvements, decided to pave Rue Royale, at a cost of $300,000, and the Council arranged through Mr. Nolte for a loan to be repaid in ten years from the banking house of Barings, London. Mr. Nolte says this was the forerunner of many similar loans. The commerce of New Orleans, which was destined to so mighty a future, was

obliged to contend with greatest difficulties because of the miserable condition of the streets, the highways and the dykes of the river, which gave them a thousand hindrances in the way of trade's advancement.

The subject assigned me for this very informal address is "A Review of Banking in New Orleans, 1830-1840," but to better appreciate the wonderful expansion of the monetary system of the period, I have called your attention to the rather crude conditions as they are authoritatively reported to have existed at the beginning of the previous decade.

Judge Porter, in his article of New Orleans written in this period, says

"By whatever route the traveler approaches New Orleans, whether by the river, the sea or the lake, the feature which first attracts his attention is the levee, where one may meet with the products and the people of every country in any way connected with commerce."

The levee was one continuous landing place or quay four miles in extent, and of an average breadth of 100 feet. A very large part of the Western products were brought to New Orleans in flatboats. The flatboats were long, narrow rafts covered with a raised work of scantling, giving the appearance of narrow cabins built for the purpose of habitation, but designed to protect their cargo from the weather. These boats were valued frequently at $10,000 and $15,000. These flatboats floated with the stream three or four miles per hour, guided by a large oar at the stern and aided with an occasional dip of two huge pieces of timber which were like fins on either side.

The products of the Ohio, Missouri and upper Mississippi were floated to New Orleans for export. The flatboat men of the Mississippi were a distinctive class of dwellers upon the waters—strong, hardy, rough and uncouth pioneer traders, and it was many years before their number was diminished by the advent of the steamboat.

Judge Porter says:

"That part of the quay or levee which is particularly characteristic of New Orleans is THE STEAMBOAT LANDING. Here all is action. The very water is covered with life: huge piles of cotton, bale upon bale, and pork without end, as if the Ohio had emptied its lap at the door of New Orleans. Flour by the thousands of barrels rolled upon the quay. Here is a boat freighted

with lead from Galena, Ill., and then with furs and pelts from the upper Mississippi, three thousand miles to the northwest.

"When I contemplate the vast region of country which is just now opening to cultivation and of which New Orleans is the natural mart, I find it impossible to set limits to the city's future increase."

Judge Porter, referring to plantation life:

"The traveler from the North as he touches the region of orange and cane of smiling plantations, bounded in the background by dense forests stretching onward to a seemingly illimitable extent toward the south, looks down upon the planter's mansion, the cluster of white cottages hard by, the slaves at their daily task and the mounted overseer."

All of which confirms the prosperity and the civilization which was claimed for Louisiana in 1830, and which we find confirmed in the prospectus issued by the Citizens' Bank of Louisiana in 1833, which says:

"Louisiana, one of the most interesting of the United States, is increasing in population, in proportion nowhere equalled—and New Orleans, the only seaport of the State, will soon be able to vie with the great commercial cities of the known world."

Andrew Jackson had received the largest electoral vote in 1824. But the contest was carried into the House of Representatives. The Electoral College stood:

Jackson 99,
Adams 84,
Crawford 41,
Clay 37.

The House of Representatives, February 9, 1825, chose John Quincy Adams.

Adams received the vote of 13 States.
Jackson received the vote of 7 States.
Crawford received the vote of 4 States.

Jackson always harbored the thought that he had been cheated out of the Presidency through the influence of the Bank of the United States. He was, however, elected in 1828. His first message to Congress sounded his opposition to the Bank of the United States as follows:

"The charter of the Bank of the United States expires on March 3, 1836, and its stockholders will most probably apply for a renewal of their privilege. I feel that I cannot in justice to the parties interested too soon present it to the deliberate consideration of the Legislature and the people.

"Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow-citizens, and it must be admitted by all that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency.

"Under these circumstances, if such an institution is deemed essential to the fiscal operations of the government, I submit to the wisdom of the Legislature whether a national one, founded upon the credit of the government and its revenues might not be devised, which would avoid all constitutional difficulties and at the same time secure all the advantages to the government and country that was expected to result from the present bank."

The records show that:

In 1829, $12,405,005.80 was paid on account public debt.

January 1, 1830, balance account public debt was only $48,-565,406.50, including $7,000,000.00 subscribed to the stock of the Bank of the United States. Jackson persisted in the idea that the bank was leading the money power against him and that he was the was the champion of the masses, and he insisted upon paying off the public debt.

In 1831, Mr. Albert Gallatin, the then Secretary of the Treasury, in his treatise on the currency and banking system of the United States, pronounced the Second Bank of the United States one of the best institutions in the world.

Jackson was re-elected over Henry Clay in 1832, which he construed as an endorsement of his policies:

To pay off the public debt,

Oppose any expenditure for internal improvements,

Refuse to renew charter to the Bank of the United States,

Distribute any surplus revenues back to the States.

Congress, however, passed a bill granting an extension of charter under certain limitations—1832. Jackson immediately vetoed the bill, and in 1833, he began removing the public deposits from the Bank of the United States and appointing State fiscal agents.

The veto message of 1832 is full of venom, and his action in removing the public funds occasioned a vote of censure in the Senate, which, however, was finally expunged.

In 1833, the Commercial Bank, $3,000,000 capital, which bank had been chartered several years before to construct a system of waterworks and did construct at a cost of $708,000 a system of underground pipes made of cypress logs bored out and

joined, was designated by the Secretary of the Treasury a depository of public money, following the policy of Jackson, to experiment in withdrawing the public monies gradually from the Bank of the United States and deposit with State banks.

The letter of Secretary Taney and the contract between the bank and the treasury show that the United States Government was anxious to afford additional facilities for the extensive commerce of New Orleans, but was just as exact and definite in its requirements for the protection of its funds as to-day. The letter shows conclusively the confidence with which New Orleans financial institutions were regarded in 1833.

Louisiana had from the very beginning encouraged banking capital to develop her wonderful resources by taking an interest, subscribing State funds to the capital and participating in the profits.

In 1804, the State granted a charter to the Louisiana Bank, capital $2,000,000. In 1805, the United States Bank established a branch in New Orleans. In 1811, the Bank of Orleans was chartered, capital $5,000,000.

The Second Bank of the United States, chartered in 1816, after about three years of struggle, pending the test of its constitutionality before the Supreme Court—McCulloch vs. Maryland—gradually became a potential factor in the regulation of the heretofore free and easy State bank currency issues, after favorable decision in 1819 for the bank. By systematically requiring the State banks to redeem in specie such of their notes as came into possession of the Bank of the United States, the State banks were kept fairly well in check.

In 1818 the Louisiana State Bank's capital was $2,000,000.

In 1824 the Bank of Louisiana's capital was $4,000,000.

Many other joint banks and property banks obtained their charters from the State upon assuming a specific obligation to create some public utility, or to promote some great enterprise for the greater comfort of the people, or facility for trade and commerce.

In the year 1831, the State granted a charter to the Canal and Banking Company, capital $4,000,000. This bank, at a cost of over $1,000,000, was required under its charter to construct a navigable canal from Rampart Street to the lake or West End.

aid and elevate that credit. What is their history? Where do we first find them? Do they make their first appearance in despotic governments, and show themselves as inventions of power to oppress the people? The first bank was that of Venice; the second that of Genoa. From the example of these republics, they were next established in Holland and the free city of Hamburg. England followed these examples, but not until she had been delivered from the tyranny of the Stuarts, by the revolution of 1688. It was William the Deliverer, and not William the Conqueror, that established the Bank of England.

6. Mr. President, I confess I find it difficult to respect the intelligence, and at the same time the motives of those who alarm the people with the cry of danger to their liberties from the bank. Do they see the same danger from other banks? I think not. With them, bank capital and bank credit is dangerous or harmless, according to circumstances. It is a lion, whose conduct and character appear to depend on his keeper. Under the control of this government, it is fearful and dangerous; but under State authority, it "roars as gently as a sucking dove; it roars as it were any nightingale."

* * * * * * * *

I think these extracts show the feeling of the opposition to the methods of President Jackson and his well-recognized determination to eliminate the Bank of the United States, even before its charter expired, by removing the public monies into State banks appointed fiscal agents.

In 1837 this bank had a paid up capital of $5,300,000, all of which had been obtained in Europe by the sale of bonds secured by mortgage on property and guaranteed by the State of Louisiana.

So the State was very intimately associated with its banks.

Notwithstanding the depressed conditions of the monetary system as described by Mr. Webster, New Orleans seems to have been exceptionally prosperous, owing to the fact that New Orleans was then, even more than to-day, the entrepot of the commerce of the Mississippi Valley, and under the liberal patronage of the State, the banks in New Orleans had a paid-up capital of nearly $40,000,000, and New Orleans was recognized the world over as a most prosperous community, thriving on the commerce of the Mississippi Valley.

(Extracts from Mr. Webster's speech on the Bank of the United States.)

o New
ur de-
of our
Missis-
ic and

Bank,
he old
Louis,

ital of
ect the
ildings

itects,
House.
a cost
rthday

period
ie new
a new
e.
anks.

E SEN-

of the

69,455
30,519

51,265

81,774
71,327

situa-
York
rleans.

aid and
we first
potic go
to oppr
second
they we
burg.
been del
of 1688
Conque
6. N
intellige
alarm t
the banl
not. W
harmles
and cha
trol of
State a
as it we

*

I th
the met
minatio
its cha
banks a
In 1
which h
by mor
isiana.
So t
Not
system
been ex
leans w
merce c
of the
nearly
over as
of the

(Exti
States.)

Travelers from Europe and from the North came to New Orleans as to a new El Dorado, spending six months in our delightful climate, to make as much money as possible out of our cotton, sugar, our exports and imports, which kept the Mississippi, Ohio and Missouri river boats busy with the traffic and interchange of commodities.

The St. Louis Hotel was erected by the Improvement Bank, chartered in 1834, at a cost of $900,000, in the center of the old city, or French Quarter, in the square bounded by St. Louis, Toulouse, Chartres and Royal Streets.

In 1834, the Exchange Bank was chartered with a capital of $2,000,000 and the charter obligated the corporation to erect the St. Charles Hotel, which was the first of the great buildings erected in the American quarter above Canal Street.

The St. Charles was designed by Gallier & Dakin, architects, who also designed the City Hall and the French Opera House. It was begun in 1835, and completed in February, 1837, at a cost of $616,775, and formally opened on Washington's birthday with a grand ball.

Locating the St. Charles above Canal Street, marked a period of great rivalry between the old French quarter and the new American district. Around it immediately sprang up a new business center, which has continued to grow in importance.

This suggests an examination of the conditions of the banks.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF FINANCE OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE, JANUARY 18, 1837.

Statement SA shows that the nominal banking capital of the State of Louisiana amounts to $54,554,000.

Actual capital paid in and now in use for banking		$36,769,455
Individual deposits		6,130,519
Circulation	$7,125,200	
Less notes held by local banks	1,982,935	5,151,265
Cash liabilities		$11,281,774
Specie, gold and silver held		2,671,327

or 23.68% on their cash liabilities.

It may not be out of place here to compare the banking situation of the banks of the State of Pennsylvania and New York and the Bank of England with that of the banks of New Orleans.

BANKS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

(See Auditor's report for January, 1837.)

Capital.....	$57,916,681	Circulation..	$23,902,658
Loans	92,926,597	Deposits	14,144,418
Cash liabilities.....			$38,047,036
Specie and gold on hand.....			6,479,040

or 17.03% of their cash responsibilities.

BANKS OF NEW YORK.

(See Commissioner's report for January, 1837.)

Capital.....	$27,101,460	Circulation..	$24,198,000
Loans	79,813,188	Deposits	30,134,294
Cash liabilities.....			$54,332.294
Specie on hand.....			6,557,020

or 12.07% of their responsibilities.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(See official account for June, 1836.)

Deposits.....	£15,730,000	$78,650,000
Circulation.....	17,184,000	85,920,000
		$164,570,000
Bullion on hand.....	6,868,000	34,340,000

or 20.87% of responsibilities.

Our property banks, having obtained their capital from Europe on State bonds, are secured by $25,000,000 of mortgages on the most valuable property in this State, worth upwards of $40,000,000, and of a large accumulating sinking fund growing out of banking profits, which are only divided in the proportion of the redemption of said bonds, and their banking movement is sustained in the same manner as that of the Bank of England.

The position of New Orleans is unique. There is no place on the globe possessing so many elements and sounder materials for banking.

This takes us up to the causes which precipitated the panic of 1837.

The Second Bank of the United States, which had been chartered for only twenty years, had been prosperous, and in its exercise of power as a controlling factor over the State bank currency issues, had unfortunately become unpopular in the politics

of the country bankers, whose influence in electing Congressmen was a potential factor in the refusal of President Jackson to sanction a renewal of its charter. The withdrawal of the government deposits, coming at a time when the directors of the Bank of England, in 1836-37, becoming alarmed at the great diminution of precious metals, prescribed the paper of even the most eminent American bankers in London, with a view of contracting suddenly their business to force the exportation of gold and silver from the United States.

The inflation of note issues by the State banks soon precipitated the hoarding of specie and demonstrated the unsoundness of our financial system as soon as the restraining influence of the Central Bank was removed.

The message of his excellency, Governor E. D. White, of Louisiana, December 11, 1837, graphically describes the conditions which obtained in Louisiana, and in fact, throughout the United States. The message is particularly notable in that it places the responsibility for maintaining a stable currency upon the national government.

"The currency is a national issue under our federative system—the power to regulate the currency is one of the most essential attributes of the general government."

The message of Governor White, the father of Chief Justice White of to-day, sounded the keynote for the systematic examination, regulation and control of the banks of Louisiana. The Louisiana banking law of 1838, which was drafted under his inspiration, provided a board of currency to carry out the provisions of the act, limited the note issue by requiring State banks should have at all times in their vaults specie equal to one-third of their note issue, and that the maximum note issue should not exceed one-fifth of the paid-in capital.

The Louisiana banking law became a classic and the pattern of all other State banking laws, as well as the foundation stone for our national banking system at the close of the Civil War.

EXTRACTS FROM MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR WHITE.

"An almost universal and simultaneous suspension of specie payments by the banks having taken place, their bills, no longer convertible into specie, and, in exemplification of the received axiom in political economy that a sound and a vitiated currency cannot exist together, the precious metals speedily disappeared

from circulation to become a mere object of merchandise, while their place was usurped by paper of various kinds, having no fixed standard of value. In many places the notes of individuals or of corporations, issued without the sanction or authority of law, have become almost the only medium through which the smaller daily local exchanges are affected, forming, indeed, a very inconvenient and unsatisfactory kind of currency, but in which, from necessity of the case, men are compelled to acquiesce for the time.

"If it be in the power of the Legislature to redress the wrongs under which the body public is suffering, you are called upon by every motive which the sense of duty or the love of country can supply, to adopt such measures as may bring about the happy consummation. Your jurisdiction over the subject matter is generally supposed to reside in the control inherent in the supreme power of a State over institutions deriving their existence directly from the exercise of its creative will.

"In originating any plan to suit the exigency of the case, the great end to which all other steps should conduce, must be the resumption of specie payment. Nothing certainly could be more desirable to all, than to be able to look forward to some given time as the auspicious epoch when this was achieved. It cannot, however, be denied that speculation on this matter is involved in great complexity and doubt."

Experience has shown that when the financial affairs of people become seriously deranged, it requires the utmost exertion of prudence and the best directed concert of action to bring them back to a state of soundness and stability. To expect such harmony of movement and correspondence of legislation among twenty-six independent State sovereignties, as may accomplish this most desirable end, would, it is feared, reasoning from the past, be utterly idle and Utopian. Nothing can effectually redeem the currency from its present derangement but the hearty co-operation of the individual monied capital of the people of the United States, and that of the national government operating through the medium of a national bank, and such is the extent and magnitude of the mischief that even the efficacy of co-operation has become a theme of conjecture and doubt. To compel our banks to resume, while the banks elsewhere pursued a different course, would have little other effect than to drive them promptly back, crushed and exhausted, with their vaults drained of every dollar, to a fresh suspension not voluntary, but compulsary, from which they could never reasonably hope to rise again.

On the very same day, December 11, 1839, I find the following:

INTERESTING COMMENT BY THE SUPREME COURT OF LOUISIANA.

* * * * * * *

(Volume 3, Louisiana Reports, folio 585.)

"Directors of a bank have important duties to perform towards creditors and customers, the public and stockholders.

"Creditors and customers have a claim to the preservation of the capital in its original integrity, for it is the pledge on the faith of which they accept the notes of the institution, deposit their money and lodge paper for collection.

* * * * * * * *

"Banks are not incorporated for the sole purpose of enabling capitalists to employ their money advantageously. * * * Most bank charters contain a stipulation that certain capital shall be employed in some manner advantageously to the public * * * in the extension of commerce and the encouragement of agriculture, etc.

"As the claim of the public for these advantages is subordinate to that of the creditors and customers of the bank, so is that of the stockholder for profits subordinate to that of the public."

The following comparative statement of deposits to credit of the Treasurer of the United States shows the heavy withdrawal of funds by the government:

Statement of the Commercial Bank (before) 1st October, 1836:

Deposit credit of Treasurer of the United States...$1,861,689.13

(After) 3rd December, 1837:

*Deposit credit Treasurer of United States..... 90,374.75

---

*Shows the heavy withdrawal which helped the local panic.

We have before us a statement of the situation of the banks in New Orleans on the 23rd of December, 1837, as submitted by the joint committee by both houses of the Legislature, showing the resources of sixteen banks, with total assets of $72,712,463, and a liability of $27,864,742; however, the total movement of the banks is confined to the deposits, $7,096,465, and a circulation, $7,558,465. Deducting from the total the notes of the banks held by local banks, $3,160,505, we have the actual cash liabilities, $11,824,428, with a specie reserve of $2,729,983, equal to 23 per cent. of the cash liabilities.

Attention would naturally be directed to the loans on real estate and loans on bank stock as provided under the charter, which makes a very heavy dead weight, amounting to $43,341,-904. Of the sixteen banks of 1837, we have with us to-day only two banks—the Canal and Banking Company, now the Canal Bank and Trust Company, and the Citizens' Bank of Louisiana, now operating as the Citizens' Bank and Trust Company. Neither of these banks availed themselves of the national banking act but the Union Bank of Louisiana after the Civil War became the Union National Bank, and the Louisiana State Bank became the State National Bank in 1870. The Union Bank of Louisiana went into Liquidation about 1896 and the State National Bank was liquidated in 1908, following the panic of 1907.

We have been unable to locate any data which would give us the more intimate history of these banking interests, but have noted on the bottom of the statement the different public improvements for which the City of New Orleans is indebted to the improvement banks of those days, and I submit the statement for your further information:

Following is a synopsis of the general principles contained in the bills reported to the Senate and House of Representatives relative to currency:

First—It creates a Board of Currency to be composed of competent persons appointed by the executive of the Senate, whose special duty it shall be to cause the provisions of the bill to be carried into execution.

Second—A condensed statement of the circulation and liabilities of the banks is to be published monthly by the Board of Currency.

Third—It is made the duty of the said board to transmit to the General Assembly, on the first Monday of January in each year, a statetment of the situation of the banks.

Fourth—All issues of banks are limited until the resumption of specie payment to one-fifth of their capital paid in, such issues to include notes of whatever kind emitted by the banks.

Fifth—The banks are authorized to increase the rate of discount to 8 per cent. on all loans over four months, to 9 per cent. on all loans over nine months.

Sixth—The banks are permitted to issue post notes payable on the first of March, or sooner, if in the opinion of the majority of the presidents of the banks, specie payments can be resumed before that time; said notes to be stamped by the Board of Currency.

Seventh—The Board of Currency to ascertain the circulation of each bank.

Eighth—All banks having a larger circulation than that required, are compelled to curtail the same gradually, so that they may be within the amount by the first of March, 1839, unless the resumption of specie payment take place sooner, the banks having a less circulation to issue post notes as above.

Ninth—All post notes received at par by every bank in payment of debts.

Tenth—All banks are compelled, so far as practicable, to use their own notes for their daily payments.

Eleventh—The banks to have by the first of March, 1839, one-tenth of their capital in specie.

Twelfth—The banks to have in their vaults by the first of March, 1840, and at all times thereafter, one-third of their liabilities in specie.

Thirteenth—Each bank, from and after the first of March, 1840, to settle all its balances weekly, and to pay or require the payment, as the case may be, in specie, said balances, and to reject the paper of any bank neglecting or refusing to effect such a settlement.

Fourteenth—The protest of a notary public from and after the first of March, 1840, of any bank or post note, to constitute a forfeiture of the charter of said bank.

Fifteenth—Any bank forfeiting its charter to be compelled under certain conditions to grant one, two and three years to its debtors.

Sixteenth—The limits to issues to be considered as repealed the moment the banks resume specie payments, and the penal clauses to become binding and in full force at the same time. Penal clauses are also contained in the bill to enforce a strict compliance with the provisions of the act. It is besides made the duty of the Attorney General to prosecute for forfeiture of their charters, such of the banks of this State as shall not have accepted, after a stated time, the above rules and regulations as part of said charters.

Results, Effect and Working of the Act.

1. The Board of Currency afforded a complete check to over-issues and restored public confidence.

2. Monthly statements published of circulation and liabilities enabled close scrutiny of bank movement.

3. Authorization to issue post notes payable the 1st of March, 1840, which notes were receivable at par by all banks for debt due them, insured circulation within the State and gave the banks two crop years to realize upon before they were required to resume specie payment after the 1st of March, 1840.

Banks settle weekly balances in specie. Each bank maintained specie reserve equal to one-third circulation.

MEETING OF MAY 1917.

The regular monthly meeting of the Historical Society was held in the Cabildo, Tuesday evening, May 15th. The attendance was good; all of the officers were present.

After the reading of the minutes the following members were elected:

Mr. William A. Briant, 2406 Bienville Street.
Mrs. Celeste Claiborne Carruth, New Roads, La.
Mr. T. L. Barns, Hotel Bentley, Alexandria, La.
Judge Taylor Beattie, Thibodeaux, La.
Miss Florence Lavelle, Mandeville, La.
Mr. Arthur H. Dicks, 437 Carondelet Street.
Mr. Armand Romain, 211 Camp Street.
Mrs. Mary T. Yount, 2223 Soniat Street.
Mr. F. D. Charbonnet, Jr., 624 Gravier Street.
Mr. A. H. Johness, 640 Gravier Street.
Mr. Joseph Bernard, 1000 Title Guarantee Building.
Dr. J. L. Deslatte, Convent, La.
Mr. Thos. J. Ford, 406 Chartres Street.
Mr. Parham Werlein, 605 Canal Street.
Mr. Charles Buck, Jr., 2027 Carondelet Street.
Mrs. Chas. F. Buck, Jr., 2027 Carondelet Street.
Mr. Peter A. Chopin, St. Charles and Washington Aves.
Rev. C. W. Bispham, 1729 Coliseum Street.
Mr. John B. Stetson, Jr., Philadelphia.
Mr. O. G. Boissean, Holden, Mo.
Mr. J. Edward Crusel.
Mr. Fernand Laudumiey.
Mr. Ryney D'Aunoy.
Mrs. Geo. B. Penrose.
Dr. Foster.

Mr. Dymond, as chairman of the Executive Committee, reported that the first number of the Quarterly would soon be issued.

Mr. T. P. Thompson called up the question of the selection of the day upon which the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of New Orleans should be celebrated. He gave a résumé of the investigations he had made, which had determined his conclusions that the date was the 9th of February, 1718; giving a succinct account of the first selections of the site and the

various settlements made upon it, from the first Indian huts found by Bienville when he landed there in 1718; showing the first structure recorded was a chapel by a Jesuit priest; while there is historic evidence of squatters on the site as early as 1702.

Mr. Thompson's conclusions finding favor with the members present, Mr. Thompson moved that the Society by a vote formally adopt the date, February 9, 1918, as the date upon which the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city should be celebrated, and this motion was unanimously adopted.

The President then introduced Mrs. Harriet F. Magruder, the essayist of the evening, who apologized for not having written a paper. In a colloquial address on Baton Rouge, "old times and its people," she presented many personal reminiscences.

At the end of it, Mr. Hart read an interesting extract giving an incident in the life of Zachary Taylor, who was residing in Baton Rouge when he was notified of his election as President of the United States.

General Booth questioned Mrs. Magruder's statement that Baton Rouge was the oldest settlement in the State, with the exception of Fort Natchitoches. He had always understood that there was a tradition that Baton Rouge was founded by settlers from the little town of Galvez, but he could not verify the statement. This was not taken up or answered.

Mrs. Magruder was thanked by a vote of the Society, whose attention was then asked by Mr. Thompson, for the consideration of an original proposal in regard to the United States flag. This was, in brief, after an eloquent and patriotic peroration by Mr. Thompson, to designate the regimental flags of the different States by enlarging the star representing that State in the blue union. He had prepared to illustrate his proposition, a diagram of the flag, with the stars numbered according to the dates upon which the States were admitted to the Union. Louisiana's star being the second in the third row, which, if it were enlarged, would at once upon sight fix the flag as belonging to a regiment from Louisiana.

The Society listened with great interest to Mr. Thompson, assenting with approbation to his suggestion, when an unexpected discussion arose as to the exact date upon which a State may be said to have entered the Union. In the liveliness of the debate that followed, between Mr. Thompson, Mr. Hart, General Booth

and others, the original proposition was lost sight of until it was rescued by Mr. Gill, who made the motion that Mr. Thompson's suggestion be approved by the Society, and a memorial embodying it, be sent to the proper congressional authorities for action upon it. This was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Wilkinson then introduced the following resolution, which was also adopted unanimously:

"Be it resolved, That the Historical Society of the State of Louisiana desires to express its earnest and cordial support of the President and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States in the war now being waged by this country for the cause of civilization, humanity and liberty. It strongly endorses the earnest efforts now being made in this State to furnish soldiers, build vessels and provide large food crops for our own people and for the brave soldiers now battling for the right in Europe; and trusts that there will be such large attendance in the fields of labor and harvest, and such small attendance of idlers in the fields of sport as the call of duty and gravity of the occasion requires.

"Be it further resolved, That the Congress of the United States be requested to pass the necessary legislation to carry on this war with promptness and energy that will bring it to a victorious conclusion, as the greater the delay the more will such a conflict cost in lives and property."

A motion to adjourn was made, but Mrs. Friedrichs begged the favor of a few minutes in which to call the attention of the members to the memorial meeting to be held Thursday at Tulane University in honor of Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart, the distinguished writer, and an honorary member of the Society. She proposed that the Society be officially represented at this meeting. The President designated Mr. William Beer, who graciously accepted.

Mrs. Friedrichs then introduced the subject of the erection of a monument to Bienville as a feature of the approaching celebration, and asked that a subscription be started to collect funds for this end.

Miss Dymond protested warmly against a collection of funds for any such purpose as long as our American Red Cross was in such dire need of money. She spoke bitterly of the poor response made by New Orleans to the appeal for membership, in comparison with cities of the same size in other parts of the country.

Miss King warmly endorsed Miss Dymond's remarks, and the subject of the Bienville monument was dropped.

The motion to adjourn being pressed, the meeting was finally brought to an end.

THE AMERICAN FLAG.

Its Historical Significance, With a Suggestion for Its Use As a Code.

(Paper read by T. P. Thompson before the Louisiana Historical Society, at New Orleans, May 15, 1917.)

It would seem, at this time, when we are called upon to stand by the Flag, that any information concerning "Old Glory" will be in order. This has led to the securing of some intimate data concerning the flag which should be of interest to every American.

The Congress of the United States first gave status to our colors by the act of June 14, 1777, which reads as follows:

"Resolved, That the Flag of the Thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the 'union' be thirteen stars on a blue field representing a new constellation."

Thus, within one year after the Declaration of Independence the stars and stripes were adopted.

The coat of arms of Washington's family bore the "stars and bars," hence, by the enactment, Congress perpetuates the lofty spirit that controlled the patriot father in the insignia of our nation, which he had so much a part in founding.

Nearly one hundred years ago, April 4, 1818, when the Union reached twenty States, a resolution was passed by Congress and approved, reading:

"That from and after the 4th of July next, the flag of the United States shall be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; that the union shall be twenty stars on a blue field, and that on the admission of a new State into the Union one star shall be added to the union of the flag, and that such addition shall take effect on the 4th of July next succeeding such admission."

The stripes were thereafter fixed at thirteen in number, commemorating the thirteen original colonies which struck for freedom. The colonies adopted in rapid sequence the Constitution

of the American Union, thereby becoming States, the last, Rhode Island, qualifying May 29, 1790, completing the original "constellation" of thirteen stars.

Then came Vermont (14), Kentucky (15), Tennessee (16), Ohio (17), Louisiana (18), Indiana (19), and Mississippi (20), each at intervals was received into the sisterhood of States, and finally the flag, as we know it to-day, began its official career, "A star for a State on field of blue."

To-day we are rested on 48, six rows of eight, and for each State a star.

It has been my great pleasure to identify these stars, and there is herewith submitted a chronology of their sequence.

The original thirteen acquired their position by the right of the dates on which they voted their allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. Delaware was the first to appear, December 3, 1787, as a completed State. Then followed in quick succession Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, and on through the thirteen birthright States.

Louisiana's place is the second star on the third row, and its number is 18. The object of locating on the "union" the position of each State, is to identify by priority of entry its place on the flag, and to endear to us, all the more, our nation's beautiful banner.

Love begins in the home, and logically extends through the State to the nation. Westerner and Southerner both like to be known as such, individually and collectively they will follow their star, and your star, all the stars together, and stand behind the stars and stripes in time of trouble shoulder to shoulder.

Let us not forget the doctrines of Jefferson now that we have so complete a solidarity of commonwealths. The present generation should know its share and group proprietorship in the building up of our great nation. We each have our star on the country's standard, and it should guide us on to a higher patriotism for this the greatest liberty-loving nation of all the world.

Should the War Department desire to indicate the regimental divisions, it could by enlarging to a greater magnitude that particular regiment's State star, form a code of recognition easily taught and understood, and in no way disturbing the uniformity of army regulations as to flags and star arrangement. One large

star would easily stand out among forty-eight others, at once identifying that regiment as a certain State in the Union.

Whatever the army man may think, the lay-private will, no doubt, be glad to know his own bright, particular star in this great American constellation, and his soul should thrill to the song: "Long may it wave o'er the land of the Free and the home of the Brave."

MEETING OF JUNE, 1917.

The regular monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society took place Tuesday, June 19, with President Cusachs presiding.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The following persons applied for membership in the Society and were unanimously elected:

E. W. Burgis, 222 Elmira Avenue.
Rev. Raymond Carra, St. Patrick's Church.
Mr. J. R. Wells, 211 St. Charles Street.
Mr. Bertrand Beer, 4035 St. Charles Avenue.
Miss Florence E. O'Neal, 215 Macheca Building.
Mr. J. L. Rice, 2326 Robert Street.
Hon. H. D. Wilson, Com. of Agriculture, Baton Rouge, La.
Mr. J. A. Wherry, 132 Carondelet Street,
Mrs. Wyndham A. Lewin, 2110 Bayou Road.

Mr. Dymond reported that the first number of the Louisiana Historical Quarterly had just been issued and was now being sent out to members not in arrears by the Corresponding Secretary.

There being no reports of committees, Major Allison Owen was introduced and read his well-prepared and very interesting paper on the "History of the Washington Artillery."

A unanimous vote of thanks was tendered to Major Owen for his splendid contribution to local history, and the paper was ordered printed in the proceedings of the Society.

Mr. Watson, one of the oldest surviving members of the Washington Artillery, was present, and was asked by Mr. Hart to make a few remarks, which he gracefully did.

Mr. Hart suggested that in view of the urgent need of the Red Cross for funds with which to carry on the work, the Society appropriate fifty dollars in aid of the organization of the Red

Cross work. This suggestion was put in the form of a resolution and was unanimously carried.

Mr. Thompson asked to present a short paper on the subject of the American Flag, entitled "Old Glory, the Flag of Prophecy." The permission was granted, and the paper proved to be a very charming contribution to the history of the United States. Mr. Thompson was thanked for the paper.

Mr. Hart told of his visit to Philadelphia on Flag Day, June 14th, and stated that he had been asked by Mayor Smith to raise the State flag of Louisiana on Independence Hall on that day at the same time that the United States flag was raised, the band playing "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "Dixie."

Mr. Thompson stated that the American flag is now the oldest national flag in existence.

General Booth called attention to the fact that the Washington Artillery had done good service in the field in Louisiana and Mississippi, during the flood of 1912, looking after the refugees and hospitals, Major Owen being in active charge.

General Booth also called attention to the fact that the cannon resting on the pedestal in front of Memorial Hall was used in active service during the Civil War, and was christened the Lady Slocomb by the Washington Artillery.

Mr. Cusachs stated that he had represented the Louisiana Historical Society at the reception of the Italian Commission at the dinner which was given on the same day.

The meeting then adjourned.

ROBERT GLENK,
Secretary Pro Tempore.

HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON ARTILLERY.

By MAJOR ALLISON OWEN.

It is indeed a rare privilege which impresses me very much to be asked to speak to your distinguished society within these venerable walls, wherein so many episodes of our history have taken place, and which for many years was the scene of the labors of my predecessor in the command of the Washington Artillery; and to speak on the history of that old command which for the fifth time goes forth to serve a command, the personal call of

which has persisted with my family, and with many other New Orleans families, through three generations.

There are many old organizations in the country with distinguished records. There are a few that are older than the Washington Artillery, but most of them have lost their military character, and now exist purely as social organizations. The Washington Artillery, while very old, is still young. It even drinks at the fountain of youth, and while it holds in veneration the record of wonderful achievement of its fathers, it finds in that achievement incentive for emulation and "esprit de corps." Its reason for being today is purely for purposes of actively serving our country, and its highest ideal is to prepare itself for any duty which the country may call upon it to perform.

For some reason Louisiana has always been singularly rich in artillery. During the Civil War the State furnished a surprisingly large number of batteries to the Confederate armies. At the opening of the Spanish-American War there were seven batteries of National Guard Artillery, and for several years following there were ten batteries in the city of New Orleans alone. Up to nine years ago this city held five batteries in the service. Before the Washington Artillery was organized there were several batteries in New Orleans which drew their membership from the French or Spanish population, and it was to distinguish the new battery from these that it was first called the Native American Artillery. The exact day of its foundation is not known, but the newspapers of 1838 and 1839 occasionally refer to it or its captain, E. L. Tracey.

In 1841 the battery was attached to a body of American volunteer infantry known as the Washington Battalion, of which C. F. Hozey was Major and J. B. Walton was Adjutant. In 1843 Captain Henry Forno assumed command, Captain Tracey having been promoted to the command of the battalion. The following year three other companies were added and the battalion became the Washington Regiment, under Colonel Persifer F. Smith, who later became a Brigadier-General in the regular establishment. J. B. Walton was the Lieutenant-Colonel.

In 1845 the battery saw its first war service in General Zachary Taylor's army, leaving New Orleans on August 22 for Corpus Christi, equipped with six 6-pounder bronze guns. After three months' duty the battery was relieved by artillery of the

regular army. The following year volunteer infantry was called for and the battery again responded, equipped on this occasion as infantry, and served as Company A of the Washington Regiment, to the command of which Walton had been promoted. It embarked on May 9, 1846, and served until July 21st, and was commanded by Captain Isaac F. Stockton. The details of these two tours of duty are lacking, as all records prior to 1860 were destroyed when the old armory was fired after the fall of New Orleans during the Civil War. The only note that remains is that it embarked for the front three days after receiving the call.

Shortly after the return from Mexico, the regiment fell to pieces; the battery adopted the regimental name, and has been known ever since as the Washington Artillery. The only relic of this period now preserved is the center of a red silk standard bearing a tiger head, the emblem of the command. The seal and the badge of the active corps are crossed cannon encircled by a belt upon which is inscribed the motto, "Try Us," and the name of the organization. When and why this motto and seal were adopted is not known. On account of the tiger-head emblem the command is sometimes confused with a regiment of Louisiana infantry which was known during the Civil War as "Wheat's Louisiana Tigers." There is no connection, however, between the two.

During the fifties, the city of New Orleans offered a site for an armory "as long as the Washington Artillery remains in possession of the city's cannon," and upon the election of Colonel Walton to the command of the battery the building was begun. It was completed in 1858, and the front wall still stands in Girod Street, an interesting example of early armory design. It was the work of a member of the command, William A. Freret, who later became supervising architect of the United States. While the command was absent during the Civil War the property was confiscated, and during the reconstruction days was sold. The organization has never been compensated.

During the Civil War the organization had a long and interesting period of service, opening with the seizure of the United States Arsenal at Baton Rouge on January 10, 1861. The rush to arms at this time is shown in the expansion of the battery into two batteries on January 28, to be followed by further expansion into a battalion of four batteries March 3. On Washington's

birthday the Confederate Secretary of War, Judah P. Benjamin, on behalf of the ladies of New Orleans, presented the battalion with an embroidered silk standard, and on May 13, the command volunteered "for the war," was accepted and mustered in on May 26, as part of the regular army of the Confederate States. The day after it was mustered in it entrained for Richmond, under the command of Major James B. Walton, with W. Miller Owen as Adjutant. The personnel was drawn from the best element of New Orleans, and many were socially and financially prominent. They brought their own equipment of nine guns to Virginia, the six guns used in Mexico with the two 12-pound howitzers, and one 8-pounder rifle. The batteries were known as, First, Second, Third and Fourth Companies, and were commanded by Captain H. M. Isaacson, First Lieutenant C. C. Lewis, Captain M. Buck Miller, and Captain Benjamin Franklin Eshleman, respectively. The battalion arrived in Richmond on June 4, was supplied with horses and placed under the instruction of Lieutenants T. L. Rosser, James Dearing and J. J. Garnet, who were fresh from West Point, and who later rose to high rank in the Confederate army.

Six weeks later, July 18, the Third Company, under Captain Miller, with four 6-pounders, and three rifles of the First Company, under Lieutenant C. W. Squires, drove Battery E, Third U. S. Field Artillery, with two 10-pounder Parrot rifles, two 6-pounder howitzers, and two 6-pounders, together with a platoon of Battery G, Fifth U. S. Field Artillery, with two 20-pounder Parrot rifles, from the field at Blackburn's Ford, Bull Run. By a strange coincidence it was the present commanding officer of Battery E, Third Field Artillery, Captain Fred T. Austin, who made the Federal Inspection under which the Washington Artillery mustered in under the Dick Bill in 1909.

In the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, the positions of the batteries were as follows:

The Second Company under Lieutenant T. L. Rosser with four 12-pounder howitzers, at Union Mills Ford.

The Third Company, under Captain W. B. Miller, with two 6-pounder smooth bores, at McLean's Ford.

A platoon of the Third Company, under Lieutenant J. J. Garnet, with one 6-pounder, smooth bore, and one 6-pounder rifle, at Blackburn's Ford.

Three sections of the First Company, under Captain C. W. Squires, with three 6-pounder smooth bores, and a platoon of the First Company, under Lieutenant J. B. Richardson, with two 6-pounder rifles, at the Henry House.

The opposing batteries near the Henry House were those of Griffin and Ricketts. Eleven guns were captured, one disabled, one caisson exploded and Captain Ricketts taken.

In January, 1862, $1,499.16 was subscribed by officers and men for the relief of fire-swept Charleston.

The Spring was spent in manoeuvering on the peninsula, and on May 13, the Third Company, under Captain Miller with three 14-pounder howitzers, blocked the advance of Federal gunboats on the James River at Drewry's Bluff.

On May 31, the Battalion was not engaged, but while the battle of Seven Pines was being fought, Captain Buck Miller of the Third Company, carried off an abandoned battery of four Napoleons, which, by a singular coincidence, had been commanded by a Captain Miller in the Federal service. An ambulance of the Second Rhode Island Infantry was also taken and was used throughout the war for a headquarters wagon and always referred to as "The Second Rhode Island."

On June 6, the First Company, under Captain Squires, engaged in a two-hour artillery duel at New Bridge at Garnett's Farm on the Chicahominy, exploding a caisson, after which the opposing force withdrew.

On June 20, Colonel Walton was appointed Longstreet's Chief of Artillery, and the Washington Artillery was assigned as the reserve artillery of Longstreet's Division.

After the departure of the Battalion from New Orleans, those members whose family or business affairs had not permitted their leaving, began the organization of a fifth and a sixth battery. The call of General Beauregard in February of 1862, for troops to serve in the army of Tennessee, resulted in the consolidation of these two batteries into what was known as the Fifth Company, Washington Artillery. This battery was mustered in on March 6, under Captain W. I. Hodgson, with 156 men and two 6-pounder smooth bores, two 6-pounder rifles, and two 12-pounder howitzers. It entrained on March 8, for Grand Junction, where horses were supplied, and on the 27th marched to Corinth, Miss., where it was assigned to Anderson's Brigade,

Ruggle's Division. On April 6th and 7th fought at Shiloh from five successive advanced positions, firing 738 rounds, losing 7 killed, 27 wounded and 28 horses killed; 3 caissons, a battery wagon and forge were abandoned for want of teams.

The battery under the command of Captain C. H. Slocomb played a conspicuous role in the capture of Mumsfordsville, Perryville, Knoxville, Murfreesboro and Jackson. It distinguished itself in the great battle of Chickamauga, and lost six guns on Missionary Ridge. It captured other guns and fought desperately in fight after fight throughout the Georgia campaign. After the siege of Atlanta, back they went to Nashville, spiked their four guns and ended their career in the siege of Spanish Fort in Mobile Bay.

The details of much of the service of this battery are difficult to obtain, as the papers of the Company were lost in the Tennessee campaign. In all, 418 men served in its ranks; 50 were killed and over a hundred were wounded. It fought twenty-three battles and fifteen minor engagements, lost 143 horses, expended 5,906 rounds of ammunition and marched 3,285 miles.

At Beverly Ford, near Rappahannock Station, on August 23, 1862, the First Company, under Captain Squires, with four 3-inch rifles, and the Third Company, under Captain Miller, with four 12-pounder Napoleons, were engaged in what was purely an artillery battle which lasted four hours and resulted in the repulse of the enemy. The losses were 10 killed, 13 wounded, and 22 horses killed; 756 rounds were fired.

In the second battle of Manassas on August 29th, the First Company, under Captain Squires, with three rifles, and the Third Company, under Captain Miller, with four Napoleans, together with twelve other guns of other batteries, were placed between the flanks of Jackson's and Longstreet's Corps and fought for two hours, when the Third Company was sent to a new position on Longstreet's left. On the 30th, the Second Company, under Captain J. B. Richardson, occupied a position near the Chinn house with two 6-pounder bronze guns and two 12-pounder howitzers, and captured a battery of four Napoleons, fully horsed, which they manned and turned upon the retiring foe. The Fourth Company, under Captain B. F. Eshleman, with two 6-pounders and two 12-pounder howitzers, also occupied a position near the Chinn house and was hotly engaged. It later

moved forward to the Conrad house and until 9 p. m. continued the action in the direction of Centerville. A platoon of the First Company, under Lieutenant Edward Owen, was used on the 31st to "speed the parting guest." The casualties for the three days were one killed and nine wounded. No record is available of the loss of horses or the expenditure of ammunition.

In the battle of Antietam, or as it is called in the South, "Sharpsburg," the First Company, under Captain Squires, was posted on the ridge east of the town, on the right of the turnpike, with two 3-inch rifles and two 10-pounder Parrotts. On the right of the First Company was the Third Company, Captain Miller, with four 12-pounder Napoleons; across a ravine on the right, in an orchard in front of D. R. Jones' Division, the Second Company, under Captain Richardson, with two 12-pounder Napoleons and two 12-pounder howitzers. Still farther to the right was the Fourth Company, Captain Eshleman, with two 6-pounder bronze guns and two 12-pounder howitzers.

At a critical moment when the center of Lee's front was heavily pressed, the Third Company was in front of a corn field and orchard, through which the enemy was advancing in force. Here one of its caissons was exploded, but the battery remained in position, inflicting heavy loss, until 4 p. m., when it was withdrawn to replenish ammunition. So depleted were the gun detachments that Longstreet's staff officers served as cannoneers, the general himself directing the fire.

The sectors of the First and Second Companies included the Stone Bridge. At about noon the Fourth Company shifted its fire to a six-gun battery just going into action near the lower ford.

A. P. Hill reached the field at 2:30 p. m., and in the last phase of the fight on September 17th, the Washington Artillery was represented by ten guns drawn from all the batteries and played an important role in checking and pushing back Burnside's Corps. The casualties were 13 killed, 51 wounded, and 2 missing. No record is available of the expenditure of ammunition, but this must have been considerable as caissons were frequently refilled throughout the day or new ones sent to the guns.

At Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, the First, Third, and Fourth Companies occupied redoubts on the crest of Marye's Hill, while the Second Company reported to General Pickett,

near Lee's Hill. This was the first occasion on which the Washington Artillery used earthworks. The Fourth Company, Captain Eshleman, with two 12-pounder howitzers and two 12-pounder Napoleons, occupied the right. On the left of the Fourth Company came the Third Company, under Captain Miller, with two 12-pounder Napoleons. On the left of the Third was the First Company, Captain Squires, extending to the Plank Road, with two 3-inch rifles and one 10-pounder Parrott, one of which, under Lieutenant Galbraith, being placed in the road. Incessant fire was maintained for five hours, and the guns were withdrawn at 5 p. m., the losses being 3 killed and 24 wounded. This was, like Gettysburg, one of the great panoramic battles where the whole field was in sight, and the effect of the fire at point blank ranges was easily observed. During the battle one of the Napoleons was taken from the redoubt and placed in the open to secure greater effect.

Some days after the battle a subscription was raised to relieve the destitute people of Fredericksburg and the Battalion Washington Artillery contributed $1,391.00.

While Lee and Jackson were fighting Hooker in that astounding battle of Chancellorsville on May 3, 1863, a very important duty was assigned the Battalion, which, with Barksdale's Mississippians and Hay's Louisianians, was sent back to retard Sedgwick in any effort to reach Hooker in time to aid him. Again the guns of the command occupied the crest of Marye's Hill with the 18th and 21st Mississippi in the sunken road. The First Company, under Squires, with two 3-inch rifles, occupied a position to the right of the Marye's house. An ammunition chest under the tree still marks the spot. The Second Company, with four guns, under Richardson, was sent to Hamilton's Crossing, on the extreme right. The Third Company, with two 12-pounder Napoleons, under Lieutenant Brown, was posted near the plank-road. One gun, under Lieutenant A. Hero, accompanied General Hayes to the left. One howitzer of the Second Company and one of the Fourth, under Lieutenants Apps and DeRussy, occupied works to the left of the plank road. These works are still plainly traceable. On the extreme left the Fourth Company placed two guns under Captain Joseph Norcom.

After a stubborn defense, the weakness of the line was discovered during a flag of truce, and Marye's Hill was overrun.

Each battery lost one gun, except the First Company, which lost two, the first guns lost by the Battalion. Four men were killed, nine wounded, and three officers and 29 men were captured with their guns. The Second Company, coming to the rescue, could accomplish nothing and sacrificed a gun before it would retire, making six guns lost in all, two 3-inch rifles, two 12-pounder howitzers, and two 12-pounder Napoleons. Sedgwick, however, failed to reach Hooker. The officers and men captured were taken to Washington, thence to Fort Delaware, and on the 20th were exchanged and reported for duty after an absence of just twenty days.

At Gettysburg, the Battalion reached the field at 8 a. m. on the 2nd of July, and on the morning of the 3rd was placed on the left of the peach orchard under the command of Major B. F. Eshleman. The two signal guns for the great cannonade which preceded Pickett's charge were fired by the right platoon of the First Company, under Lieutenant C. H. C. Brown, the right gun under Sergeant W. T. Hardie, the second under Sergeant P. O. Fazende, each exploding a caisson of an opposing battery.

The First Company with two 12-pounder Napoleons, under Captain Squires, occupied the extreme right of all the artillery, near the Emmitsburg Road, at the peach orchard; the Second Company, with one 3-inch rifle, one 12-pounder Napoleon and one 12-pounder howitzer, under Captain Richardson, was placed on the left of the First Company. The Third Company, under Captain Miller, with three 12-pounder Napoleons, occupied a position on the left of the Second Company, and on their left was the Fourth Company, under Captain Norcom, with two 12-pounder Napoleons. The First and Third Companies followed Pickett's charge to a point where they could enfilade the enemy's line until Pickett fell back and their ammunition was exhausted.

The losses were 3 killed, 26 wounded and 16 captured; 39 horses were killed. The expenditure of ammunition is not recorded, but must have been heavy as the cannonade was continued until the chests were empty.

At Drewry's Bluff on May 16th, 1864, Hagood's Brigade and the First Company, under Captain Edward Owen, with four guns, were sent forward on the turnpike to a point near the outer line of works and there captured Captain Belger and his two 12-pounder Napoleons and Captain Ashby's (3rd N. Y.

Artillery) three 20-pounder Parrotts. Colonel Eshleman, Adjutant Kurshedt and Sergeant Major Randolph manned one of the captured Parrott rifles to accelerate the retreating foe. The captured guns were presented on the field to the First Company in recognition of their splendid work. The Second Company, under Richardson, occupied Fort Stevens with four guns. The Third Company, under Captain A. Hero, with four guns, was near the Saddler house, to the right of Beauregard's headquarters. The Fourth Company, under Captain Norcom, occupied a position on the right flank near the R. & P. R. R. and beside three field pieces manned four guns of position. The casualties were 9 killed and 21 wounded.

The command went into the trenches at Petersburg on June 18th, 1864, and there remained until April 2nd, 1865, making the last stand at Fort Gregg, under Lieutenant F. McElroy. During the retreat at Appomattox the Second Company, under Captain Richardson, served with the rear guard and was engaged up to 11 p. m. the night before the surrender.

One officer, Lieutenant C. H. C. Brown, and nine men from the First and Fourth Companies served as an escort for President Davis and were present at his capture.

In all, 808 men had served in the ranks of the Washington Artillery in Virginia and Tennessee, of whom 139 were killed or died of wounds. Four hundred and twelve were present for duty at the end of the war, of whom 92 still survive.

The Battalion had fought in sixty battles and a number of minor engagements, six of its officers were promoted out of the command, several rising to the rank of Major and Brigadier Generals.

As soon as a sufficient number of its members had returned to New Orleans after the surrender, two attempts were made to reorganize the Battalion, but the Federal commander dispersed both meetings and Confederate military organizations were prohibited, so the Washington Artillery took on a civil and benevolent character to care for its impoverished members and their families and the families of the dead. In 1875 the embargo was removed, and, at once, the command was armed and equipped at its own expense, purchasing a battery of 3-inch Parrott rifles from the Government.

Colonel Walton and the old officers again assumed command, but the reduced members formed but three batteries, known as A, B and C, successors to the Third, Fifth and First Companies, respectively.

In 1876 Colonel William Miller Owen, the Civil War Adjutant, was elected to the command of the Battalion, and in 1880 a monument was erected to the memory of the men in its ranks who gave their lives to their country. In 1881 Lieutenant-Colonel John B. Richardson was promoted to command, and the Battalion purchased its present arsenal.

In 1898 the Battalion volunteered for service in the Spanish-American War, and one battery, commanded by Captain Fred Kornbeck, recruited from the entire command, was accepted, but the war terminated before the Government could equip it for the field.

Following the Spanish War the Washington Artillery again expanded into five batteries, but upon the enactment of the Dick Bill, fearing that the interpretations to be placed upon its requirements might injure its "esprit de corps" or destroy its identity, the Battalion mustered out of the service, and existed at its own expense as an independent command.

On January 31st, 1906, death removed the commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson, who had served the command for 26 years, and Major W. D. Gardiner was elected to the command of the Battalion April 11th, 1906. About a year later, January 7th, 1907, Major Gardiner was promoted to Brigadier General, and Major Thomas C. Hyman succeeded him in command May 15th, 1907. Major Hyman's administration was brought to sudden close by death July 1st, 1909. On November 17th of the same year the present commanding officer was commissioned.

After the enactment of the Dick Bill, the command, in spite of earnest and devoted work upon the part of its officers and members, seemed to decline, until upon the death of Major Hyman there were but two batteries.

On the evening of December 13th, 1909, the command was inspected by Captain Fred T. Austin of the 3rd U. S. Field Artillery, and Batteries A and B, with a total strength present of 66 men, were accepted under the Dick Bill, and shortly after the army artillery equipment for one battery was received. Then followed a strenuous period of upbuilding.

Battery C was reorganized and mustered in in 1910.

Camps of instruction were attended in 1910, '11, '12, '13 and '15. In 1914, instead of camp, a march from New Orleans to Baton Rouge was undertaken, 120 miles.

In 1912 nine officers attended the Artillery School at Fort Riley, and of these six were certified to attend the School of Fire at Fort Sill. In 1913 four officers attended the School of Fire and were graduated, and twelve officers attended the Artillery School at Tobyhouma, Pa. In 1915, ten officers attended the Tobyhouma School and one the School of Fire at Fort Sill.

During the Spring of 1916, conditions on the Mexican border became so strained that on June 18th President Wilson ordered the mobilization of the whole National Guard of the country. The order was received and the whole command assembled at the armory on the morning of the 19th, and on June 24th the Battalion entrained for Camp Stafford, Alexandria, and was mustered into Federal service by Captain Chas. S. Blakely, U. S. F. A., as follows:

Battery C, 5 officers, 149 men, June 27th.
Battery B, 5 officers, 132 men, June 28th.
Battery A, 5 officers, 159 men, June 28th.
Field and Staff, 3 officers, 4 men, June 28th.

On July 18th the Battalion entrained from Donna, Texas, arriving and making camp on July 20th, 1916, as part of the 13th Provisional Division, with headquarters at Llano Grande, under the jurisdiction of the Brownsville District, commanded by Brigadier General James Parker.

The course of training included marches aggregating 358.4 miles, as far as from New Orleans to Memphis, and two sight-setting contests, in which all the batteries of National Guard artillery in the Brownsville District took part. Battery C won both tests.

Target practice was held at Loma Alta, the site of the battle of Palo Alto, and in competition with all the National Guard batteries of the district, and three test problems given with the following results:

Block House Shell Problem:
Battery B—First place; 4 hits in 52 seconds.
Battery A—Second place; 7 hits, destroying the block house.

In the morning target problem, Battery C won first place, making 365 shrapnell ball hits, several case hits and destroying half the target.

The Battalion was part of the White Army in the manoeuvres extending over an area from Harlengen to Brownsville from November 16th to 29th, participating in five engagements, two at Harlengen, San Benito, Olinito, and Loma Alta, and a review by General Parker of the 23,000 trained troops of his district on the field of Resaca de la Palma and a curtain of fire problem directed by Major Fox Conner at Palo Alto, in which all the artillery of the district took part. Battery A made 39 hits, Battery B made 2 hits and Battery C made 14 hits.

On Jackson's Day, January 8th, 1917, the officers gave a very brilliant ball to officers of the 13th Division, and the next day broke camp and marched to McAllen, going into camp on the site of the camp of the 2nd N. Y. F. A., under Brigadier General McNair.

On February 3rd, diplomatic relations with Germany were severed. On February 18th, 1917, the command entrained for home, arriving on Mardi Gras Day, and got a rousing reception, being mustered out of Federal service on the 28th, having been in service eight months in the same region where the command had seen service in 1845 and '46, bringing back the entire personnel without the loss of a single man.

On March 28th, the command, after 28 days of rest, was again mobilized, this time by the state to guard the docks, wharves and public utilities.

On April 2nd, the President addressed Congress, and on the 3rd the Senate declared war on Germany.

On April 10th, the command was again ordered federalized and reported for duty on the morning of the 11th, remaining on guard duty on the levees.

On April 19th, the command was again mustered into the United States service by Captain Chas. S. Blakely, as follows:

Field and Staff, 3 officers.
Headquarters Company, 12 men.
Supply Company, 1 officer and 3 men.
Battery A, 5 officers and 188 men.
Battery B, 5 officers and 168 men.
Battery C, 5 officers and 188 men.

The command went into camp at the City Park race track on April 20th and 21st.

On May 8th, three new batteries, D, E and F, were inspected by Captain Blakely, and they were recognized by the War Department on May 9th, thereby constituting the Washington Artillery a regiment, with one battalion federalized and one in the National Guard of the state. It is now encamped at Camp Nicholls, City Park, awaiting orders to go to the front.

During its years of peace service it has repeatedly done riot duty both in New Orleans and at various points in Louisiana. In 1912 it was called to conduct refugee camps for flood sufferers along the Mississippi River located at Vicksburg, Baton Rouge, Milliken's Bend and other points.

During the days of interstate competitive drills, the Washington Artillery, under Captain Eugene May, took first prize at Dubuque in 1884, Mobile and Philadelphia in 1885, Galveston in 1886, and Austin in 1888. It took second place at New Orleans in 1885 and third place at New Orleans and Nashville in 1883.

The following works have been published upon its history:

"A Soldier's Story of the War," by Corporal Napier Bartlett, of the Third Company. Published in 1874.

"In Camp and Battle with the Washington Artillery," by Colonel William Miller Owen, 1885.

"Washington Artillery Souvenir," by Lieutenant-Colonel John B. Richardson; 1894.

"A Reminiscent Story of the Great Civil War," by Major H. H. Baker, of the Fourth Company; 1913.

All of the present officers have attended the Artillery Schools, either at Fort Riley or Tobyhanna, and four have attended the School of Fire at Fort Sill and have been graduated.

OLD GLORY—FLAG OF PROPHECY.

By T. P. Thompson.

On June 14th, 1777, by Act of Congress, it was

"Resolved, That the Flag of the Thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the "union" be thirteen stars on a blue field, etc."

Thus was designed by our infant country, within twelve months from the Declaration of Independence, the banner of our democracy, Old Glory, under which we are engaged to-day, completing a destiny imposed and made logical by the Spirit of '76.

"Alternate red and white," reads the law; that meant there should be *first* a red stripe—*the Revolutionary War for Independence;* also there being altogether thirteen, six white bars and seven stripes of red—seven Wars!

The prophecy of the flag is clearly indicated by the above laying out of colors, if we may assume that red is time of war and white is time of peace.

We have now completed seven score (140) years of flag-life, and we are already entered into the period of our seventh and last war; so, if the sign does not fail, we are to-day in the course of completing our destiny, "carrying liberty and freedom to all the peoples of the world."

No more wars can ever be chronicled on our liberty banner, and it would seem by all rules of mysticism and heraldry that the consummation is at hand. The "Spirit of '76,"now full grown into a NATION of free citizens, governed under a Constitution, with the people's rights held sacred, is ready to go forth, as did the knights of old, to succor our less fortunate brother nations to bring them into the outer light of democracy away from their ancient enemy despotism, as represented to-day in the maddened war lords of Central Europe, who have inherited and practiced, even in this enlightened twentieth century, the effete autocracy and feudalism of the Middle Ages.

So with our flag of prophecy flying, our sturdy youth shall go forth in this one hundred and fortieth year and show to the eyes of the Kaiser-ridden Hun his first glimpse of Old Glory, with the promise it contains, even to him, and to his children, of freedom from peonage to self-constituted War Gods, who for the ambition of the few are sacrificing to their Moloch the youth and beauty of a great and wonderful race of people.

To the end that the above may be better understood, we will cite the six epochal American wars that have gone before—six in which we were completing our destiny and carrying forward the service of our country to the final peace pact which is to include all the peoples of the world in a world's republic of democracies that will band together all humanity and start the millenium of preparation; God's final haven to his sin-torn children, as promised in the Scriptures.

THE FIRST RED STRIPE ON LIBERTY'S BANNER.

The Battle of Lexington began the struggle for freedom. "A blow was struck which severed the fated chain, whose every link was bolted by act of Parliament, and bound us to the wake of Europe," said Edward Everett, and he continued in his prophetic speech:

"The brave bark of our youthful fortune was destined henceforth to ride the waves alone. The consequences of that blow are to be felt by ourselves, and the family of nations, till the seventh seal is broken from the apocalyptic volume of the history of empires."

Thus was the first red stripe drawn on our banner for democracy, and, the Revolutionary War, vindicating the Spirit of '76 passed into history.

THE SECOND STRIPE OF RED.

A sullen peace now prevailed for eighteen years, with unrest on the seas. At last it became the duty, as our country saw it, to suppress for good, piracy, flagrantly practiced then by the Barbary powers. For four years, between 1801 and 1805, we were intermittently engaged in war with Tripoli and the neighboring North African States. Quoting the words of Pope Pius the Seventh, "Americans have in this war done more good for Christendom against the pirates than all of Europe combined."

Again we were rested and the second zone of white was recorded.

THE THIRD STRIPE OF RED.

The war of 1812, known also as the "Second War of Independence," had to be fought with England. The right of American vessels to sail unmolested from port to port had to be forced from the Mistress of Seas. This final acknowledgment of American independence was sealed with the Battle of New Orleans, after two years and eight months of conflict on land and water. We had then completed another chapter in our destiny, as recorded in the third red stripe on the flag of prophecy and its story of Freedom.

THE FOURTH STRIPE OF RED.

Mexico, our neighbor to the south, with her traditions brought from feudal Spain, had next to be dealt with. Our border people had to be freed from molestation; Texas, California, Arizona

and New Mexico, the great Southwest, had to be quieted and made secure. As a part of our destiny, it was necessary to balance and round out our own republic of commonwealths.

To this end we fought in 1847 our great Mexican War, paid in money for territory attained, and went forthwith back to the plow and to our own business of gathering strength for the work that was yet to come.

The Fifth Red Stripe.

Thirteen States—fateful number—had struck for liberty in 1775. In 1861 thirteen States, with the idea that liberty also included a license to withdraw from the republic when they pleased, went out. The time now came when we were to be born again into a completed solidarity—a Nation. This was accomplished after four years of travail, and with the surrender at Appomattox, there stood forth finally a completed nation of free and untrammelled people, the constellation on our union jack again shone out with pristine beauty, and the Star Spangled Banner was nailed forever to the masthead.

The Sixth Red Stripe.

Our banner of freedom in 1898 began its world's destiny. By an oversea victory, with Spain as our opponent, we released a struggling people in Cuba and extended our beneficence to include the Philippines and several other weak peoples.

Here, in marking our sixth red stripe, we at once challenged the attention of Europe and all the world to the fact that there now existed in the West a mighty champion of right. Since the day of our victory we have been given a respect such as our Nation had never previously received.

1917—World's War.

We are now starting into the consummation of our war destiny, and we are to finally demonstrate our flag as one of prophecy in this, its seventh score of years completed.

Quoting the historic words of President Wilson in his great war message:

"The world must be made safe for democracy. We shall fight for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes. America is privileged to spend her

blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured, God helping her."

So breathes forth to-day the reincarnated "Spirit of '76," as we proceed to justify our last red bar on the escutcheon of Democracy's Champion in this World's War for Peace.

MEETING OF JULY, 1917.

The Louisiana Historical Society held its midsummer meeting Tuesday evening, July 17th, in the Cabildo. President Cusachs and the two secretaries were present. The attendance was fair for the season.

The minutes were read, and after correction were approved; and no business reports being brought forward Mr. Cusachs introduced Dr. Holt, who read the paper he had been requested to prepare at the last meeting, "A Review of the Paper of Major Allison Owen on the History of the Washington Artillery."

The author presented it as a response to Major Owen's paper, which was a record of the details and dry facts in the life of the famous battery. Dr. Holt, yielding to the popular sentiment of admiration for the Washington Artillery, made a graceful and poetical eulogy which elicited constant bursts of applause that did not subside when the doctor, in scathing sentences, denounced the present war as conducted by the Germans and the supine attitude of the pacifists in regard to it.

Dr. Y. R. Lemonnier arose and offered a few remarks suggested by Dr. Holt's paper, comparing the young men of the present war with those who enlisted, as he had done, in the cause of the Confederacy. Both humorous and pathetic, he held the audience's closest attention. Spontaneous applause that arose from the heart, interrupted him frequently.

Mr. Henry Gill was then introduced by the President. He spoke of a recent conference he had attended at Chautauqua, at which many noted speakers of the country had gathered to decide upon the best plan for laying before the people of the United States the reasons why America is at war. His address made a serious impression on the audience, particularly when he contrasted the scientific thoroughness with which Germany con-

ducted war, with the easy-going chivalry of the nations which still followed the old principle of international warfare. When he closed there seemed to be no desire for any other consideration or discussion.

Mr. Glenk, arising, offered the following names for membership:

Mrs. Peter F. Pescud, 1413 Third Street.
Miss Eleanor Riggs, 4535 Prytania Street.
Mrs. Victoria M. Jones, 1337 Esplanade Avenue.
Mr. St. Clair Adams, 416 Hibernia Building.

They were unanimously elected.

Mr. Hart, having obtained for the Society from the sister of the late Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart, the notices published in the papers after the death of the distinguished writer, contributed them to the archives of the Society.

A motion to adjourn was made, and the meeting, essentially a war-talk meeting, was brought to a close.

A REVIEW OF THE PAPER OF MAJOR ALLISON OWEN ON THE HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON ARTILLERY.

By Dr. Joseph Holt.

These remarks are offered in the spirit of a tribute so richly deserved that silence, repressing sentiments urging to utterance, in this time of national travail, and shadowing menace of the world's bereavement of its most precious jewel, government of, for and by the people, would be to charge my own soul with the disloyalty of indifference and purposeful neglect; for who is not warmly with us is openly or secretly with the enemy.

At our regular meeting in June, a paper entitled "The Washington Artillery," was read by Major Allison Owen, the commanding officer, giving in outline, breifly condensed for the occasion, a chronological record of events in the history of that famous organization; not entering into an intimate disclosure of the accumulated and treasured incidents of its inner life, the spiritual nucleus of its vitalizing energy that has created, and continues to create, an esprit de corps of the highest attainable standard of chivalry; in numerous campaigns enduring the extreme test under concentrated fire.

On the staff of its battle flag, engraved upon silver, is a list of sixty battles, in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Georgia; beginning with Bull Run, and, among others, the battles around Richmond, Second Manassas, Sharpsburg, Gettysburg, Dalton, Chicamauga, Atlanta, the siege of Petersburg, and the grande finale at Appomattox.

Affairs such as these were merely mentioned, as it seemed, to keep the record straight. There was no attempted garnishment so alluringly offered in brilliant events; no wandering into the multi-colored atmosphere of old soldier reminiscence; no spectacular display of heroic action and Spartan endurance.

Yielding to none of these actualities of experience, justifying dramatic recital, the articulated elements of history, gaunt and unadorned, as a thing of life, moved forward in the serenity of duty, unconsciously commanding fear and admiration.

The naivete of sincerity, the modesty of recital, would have been strangely depreciatory had it not been reactively its own corrective, affixing the stamp of verity.

However demure here at home, I can affirm, as often a much interested observer, that in the field far away, the Washington Artillery played the game of "Tiger" with all the zeal and athletic abandon of a champion baseball team, loudly boisterous and rudely aggressive; which singularly explains the expression in the Iliad: "And they were mindful of the delight of battle!" "They knew the joy of battle!"

The paper was received with cordial recognition; but to President Cusachs' invitation there was no responsive discussion, for the reason that it was quite impossible, on the instant, to exercise the mind in analytical criticism giving words to thought, except in haphazard fashion, contrary to our custom.

Such documents furnish the skeletal framework of authentic history, scarcely noticed when recent, but of great value in years to come.

A trouble, keenly felt in our civilization, is in the fact that history, except in these later times, has seldom been recorded in its creative freshness, but has suffered through lapse of time and the inevitable forgetting, the silent evaporation and escape of truth, leaving to the ready imagination the filling of gaps for a continuous story. This clearly accounts for a "Romance History of Louisiana."

In "In Camp and Battle with the Washington Artillery," by Colonel Miller Owen, 1885, is laid the broad historic foundation upon which his son, Major Allison Owen, with inherited acumen and loyalty to the colors, continues the record; inscribing upon the rising shaft dedicated to valorous achievement the crowning history of the Washington Artillery in this the most direful tragedy in the human drama—the irrepressible conflict between autocratic dynasty and universal democracy.

The future of the Washington Artillery is inseparable from the fate of our people; for all that we hold dear, for our women and children, for ourselves and fellow-citizens, whom we love, it were better, a thousand times more merciful to feel the liberating pangs of death and the pains of hell forever, than to suffer the ignominy and unspeakable shame and paralyzing outrage under the robber instinct and the huge bestial animality of the German, as he has revealed himself shamelessly to an amazed world; the domination of the Chickasaws and Comanches, in their primal savagery, would be clean and noble in comparison.

Facing this monstrosity of German philosophy, called Kultur, we can well ask: "Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of such chains and slavery?"

When we peer into the chaotic blackness of the future and then look upon our valiant young manhood, these boys, inexpressibly loved and cherished, then it is we realize the price of liberty, transcending all values; how much more above the peace at any price of scheming poltroons, willing to see in our own land a repetition of the wholesale butcheries and debaucheries of Belgium and Northern France, more frightful than primitive savagery has ever devised seemingly inherent in the race.

Here let me register a protest against the sanctimonious sloppiness of well-paid charlatans in official high places, who cunningly ingratiate themselves under pretense of much righteousness, and political tricksters, who belittle and always oppose the noblest efforts of patriots, in order to advance themselves through treachery and evil speaking; these are the lineal "Tories" of the Revolution.

As for war! It is normal to mankind as an organic element in the conditions of existence, the biological imperative; itself dependent upon the sacrifice of life for the survival of the living, best understood when we recognize the infinite wisdom and

power, creating according to the sovereignty of His own will—without calling pacifists into consultation.

These, in their fatuity, fail to see the compensating necessities in the human problem; for, left to his own inherent inclinations in high prosperity, which means high living, man quickly lapses into the degeneracy of self-gratification in the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eye and presumptuous arrogancy of life, eventually not worth the killing, unless a heaven-sent compulsory reaction, supremely greater than ourselves, compels us suddenly to "About face!" subordinating body and soul to the larger imperative obligations of duty to our better selves in allegience to our country and the higher needs of the human race.

War in an instant has transformed this happy-go-lucky, dollar-grabbing, pleasure-seeking people into a consolidated unit of free-handed, self-sacrificing patriotism, hungry for training in discipline and obedience; already leading the nations to a universal knowledge and acceptance of American-born government of, for and by the people. "Man in his highest estate can do no more!"

As long as we, the American people, are not utterly debased in cowardice and greed, wars and rumors of wars will keep the Washington Artillery in furbished and glittering preparedness.

MINUTES OF OCTOBER, 1917.

The Louisiana Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting on Tuesday evening, October 16th, at the Cabildo. President and Secretary were present, and a small gathering of members and visitors.

Minutes of the July meeting were read and approved.

Mr. W. O. Hart reported that, authorized by the Executive Committee of the Society, he had presented to the War Library two hundred copies of Mr. Stanley Arthur's "Battle of New Orleans," freshly bound for the occasion. He read a note of thanks for this, from Mr. Henry M. Gill, chairman of the War Library Committee for Louisiana and Mississippi.

Mr. Joe Mitchell Pilcher then read his carefully prepared essay, "The Story of Marksville." It was listened to with great interest, the notes on Indian tribes containing much new and original information. The fight at Fort DeRussy was told with

spirit, and the reminiscences of Ruth McEnery Stuart with pathos.

At the end there was some informal and pleasant talk about the origin of the Indian people of America. Mr. Dymond, as usual, gave some interesting personal experiences.

The following persons, proposed by Mr. Hart for membership, were elected:

Miss Alys M. Goforth, Baton Rouge, La.
Mr. J. A. Badger, 7315 St. Charles Avenue.
Mr. Jules Mazerat, 1921 Ursuline Street.
Milton A. Dunn, M. D., Colfax, La.
Miss Nellie W. Price, 1231 Webster Street.
Mr. J. M. Pilcher, Marksville, La.

Mr. Hart called attention to the services to be held in the City Hall on the 24th in honor of the founding of New Orleans, celebrated that day in Paris. He also presented a request from Mrs. James Rainey, that some of the portraits of the Historical Society's gallery be loaned to the fair to be held at an early date. After a little discussion from members the matter was left to the President to decide.

The meeting then adjourned.

GRACE KING.

THE STORY OF MARKSVILLE, LA.

By JOE MITCHELL PILCHER.

Let us set back the hands of the clock of Time some two or three centuries, after which we shall unroll the map of the great continent of North America and look upon it as it was then. Beyond the Alleghanies to the majestic Father of Waters, let your eyes wander. Then glance down this mighty river to the mouth of the Red, where the two streams are confluent. There let your eyes rest.

Before you a beautiful prairie rolls and stretches to the land of the setting sun. It is an unshorn field, boundless and beautiful, a region whose every object wears the image of its Maker. His Spirit—the Great Spirit—speaks in the roars of its mighty rivers and moves in the wind as it "wakes to ecstacy the tall grass of the great prairie of Avoyelles.

All up and down this prairie roamed the wolf and bear. In the tall grass lurked and skulked the dusky savage, and the

earth was made to tremble as the vast herds of bison and buffalo swept cyclone-like across this beautiful and romantic prairie.

The original denizens of this Garden of God were the Avoyelles, a tribe once puissant but long since departed. The Avoyelles proudly boasted of a classic antiquity in their supposed descent from the Aztecs. However, this is a question of grave doubt and speculative debate. If not classic in history, the country of the Avoyelles is at least classic and historic in soil, for the legions of De Soto, the missionary crusaders of France, and the British regulars crossed its borders and traversed its plains.

The word "Avoyelles" signifies "People of the Rocks," and was ascribed to them by Iberville, who sojourned with the tribe several days. But the origin of the word is lost in obscurity. However, it is the supposition of a few that its derivation arose from the fact that the Avoyelles secured flint from the Arkansas and traded it to the neighboring tribes.

In 1700 Iberville met forty Avoyelles warriors in the village of the Houmas, offering their services to suppress an invasion of the formidable Choctaws. From the Avoyelles Iberville learned that they once lived with the Natchez, but because of the perpetual wars which raged among them they were forced to leave the Natchez and live elsewhere. They crossed the Mississippi and came over to what is now Avoyelles Parish.

St. Denis, who figures prominently in the early history of Natchitoches, met the Avoyelles in 1714 on his way to Mexico in company with Penicaut. La Harpe, the French explorer and historian, speaking of them, says:

"On the 21st we became aware of some savage hunters to the left of Red River. I sent one of my pirogues to find them; they were of the tribe of Avoyelles. They made us some presents of quarters of bear and deer. I kept them many days in order to hunt. They killed for me ten deer and a bear, a quantity of bustards, ducks, some rabbits and many squirrels; they also caught many fish for me. I made them a present of two guns."

Du Pratz, another French historian of the period, states that the Avoyelles were middlemen in trading horses between the Mexicans and the French.

Like all other Indians, the Avoyelles were of a restless nature, and they wandered from place to place. They lived at

various points on the Red River, and finally came to Spring Bayou and Old River, their last abodes.

We trace the course of their wanderings by huge earth mounds which they left here and their in their train. These mounds were of two sorts, domiciliary and mortuary. As the words imply, mounds of the former type were those upon which the Indians built their cabins so as to insure their safety from the annual floods; and the mounds of the latter type were built for burial purposes. The mound near Old River, about a mile south of Marksville, is of the mortuary type, while the one a few yards away is of the domiciliary.

At certain intervals these Indians gathered the bones of their dead and placed them in one huge mound. The Indians held the remains of the dead in great reverence and accompanied these burials with pomp and ceremony. With the bones were placed certain relics, such as arrow heads, earthen pots, beads and the like.

There is one mound of this interesting chain which deserves particular attention. It is the one situated about a mile from the mouth of Bayou L'Eau Noire, in the woods, but now crossed by a levee. This mound, about square, faces the cardinal points of the compass, obviously showing that the savages must have had some knowledge of astronomy.

To-day this great tribe is completely extinct, and as far back as 1805 its last remnant was two or three women living among the French. The Indians living near Marksville are not Avoyelles stock, but are descendants of the Tunicas.

The name "Tunica" signifies "Men" or "People." De Soto encountered them in Northeastern Louisiana at a salt lick on the Ouachita. Marquette met them in 1676 on the Yazoo, where they had several small villages. In his famous voyage of 1682, La Salle did not visit them, because of their enmity with the Arkansas. Tonti only makes mention of them. During the hunting season Joutel encountered their camp in Northeastern Louisiana.

The first white men to meet them on the Yazoo were two missionary priests from Canada. These priests converted many of them, baptizing several dying children and the chief. One of these priests was Father Davion. He had great influence

among these Indians. On one occasion his great zeal prompted him to demolish the idols of one of the Tunica temples. The Indians sought his life, but the chief shielded him from harm.

Some time later they captured an English trader, who, upon escaping, assembled the Alabamas, Carolinas and Chickasaws to war against them. Feeling that they were not strong enough to resist the attack, in October of 1706, they migrated to the mouth of the Red. Father Davion's mission was moved along with the tribe. This good old man was a power among the Indians in advancing the teachings of the Catholic Church. He was a pioneer, too, in the spreading of education. The Indians reposed in him complete confidence and looked upon him as their guardian.

In 1714 St. Denis passed through their village and persuaded the Tunica chief to accompany him on an expedition through Texas. During the Natchez war Penicaut and many refugees found an asylum in the Tunica village. It was at this time the Tunicas offered their services to Bienville, but he declined them because of the prevalent rumor that they had offered rewards to certain warriors for his scalp.

La Harpe met the Tunicas in 1719, and states that Father Davion had completely induced them to abandon their idolatry. In 1721, Father Charlevoix, the historian of New France, visited them. He stated that the chief prided himself on wearing French apparel. Father Charlevoix further states that the chief's cabin was exquisitely adorned and that his wealth was great.

When the Capuchin Fathers came over to Louisiana, Father Davion returned to France, where he died soon after. Passing through their village in 1727, the missionary, Poisson, told the Tunicas of Father Davion's death. They mourned his death, and the chief "seemed to wish for a missionary." But Poisson remarks that the chief bore no mark of being a Christian, except the name, a medal and a rosary.

In 1723 the Tunicas accompanied Bienville on his second expedition against the Natchez, and their chief was severely wounded. When the great Natchez war broke out in 1729 they again aided the French, and were of considerable assistance as scouts. Their chief took an active, prominent part in this campaign. But he crossed his Rubicon in so doing, for the Natchez

proved to be an inexorable foe. After their war with the French, the Natchez engaged the Tunicas in battle and almost annihilated them. Among the first to fall was the Tunica chief.

In March of the year 1764, in company with the Avoyelles, they pounced upon some English pirogues under the command of Morgan, and killed six Britishers, wounding several. The refusal of the English to surrender a slave who fled from them aroused them to this attack.

Some time between the Revolutionary War and the annexation of Louisiana to the United States, occurred their final migration to the great Marksville prairie. The cause of this movement is unknown. Here they obtained a grant of land, where a few families are still to be found, among them the old Valsine Chiki, considered to be the chief of the Tunica remnant.

The arts, crafts and daily life of the Tunica were very similar to those of the great Natchez. Their houses consisted of a framework of slender poles covered with palmetto leaves, corn husks and grass. Gravier tells us that their manner of dress resembled that of the Natchez. The women were deft at spinning a kind of cloth which they called mulberry cloth. In diet they were vegetarians, their chief foods being squash, wild fruits and roots.

Like all other tribes ,they had a temple dedicated to the Great Spirit. It stood upon a mound, where spirits were thought to dwell. The Tunicas were sun-worshippers, and among their household gods were symbols of the sun. Among their religious traditions is an account of a great flood, of which they were warned by the Great Spirit.

The Tunicas observed several annual feasts, their chief feast occurring at "roasting-ear time." In observing this feast, corn was roasted and placed in pots at the head of the graves in their cemetery. This act was repeated on four consecutive days, on the last of which the Indians fasted until noon, when they assembled at the home of the medicine man or priest. This medicine man, who was keeper of the cemetery, harangued the assembly with a speech, after which he sat them down to a feast. At the feast he regaled them with the deeds of heroism of their ancestors. The feast over, the Indians gathered in a ring to witness the war dance. Until a score or more of years ago the Tunicas continued to hold these war dances, which were attended by the citizens of Marksville and the surrounding country. But all these

things have become history. The Tunicas themselves are fast becoming extinct, and the tribe will soon be no more. The great tale of a passing race is written on the faces of the remaining half-breeds now living near Marksville.

With the passing of the Avoyelles a new race of men came to inhabit their land. This race came in due time to make the prairie blossom as the rose. It was a sturdy race which brought with it civilization. Following its advent great changes are taking place. The few Tuncas that remain are becoming civilized. The warwhoop is heard no more, for the hatchet has long been buried.

The aspect of this country has greatly changed. Men with coonskin caps and bearskin suits are seen chasing the deer where once the crafty red man followed the bison and bear. The wigwams are seen no more, and in their stead are the log cabins of the first settlers scattered here and there over the prairie, each with a few rows of corn surrounding it. These wide borders are fast becoming populous. A village springs up and the wilderness recedes.

It is the Caucasian who has come. He has brought civilization into the land of the Avoyelles.

This great move was begun in 1809 by a sturdy French pioneeer from Pointe Coupee. He was a trader and planter, and owned a considerable tract of land in the great prairie of Avoyelles, part of which bordered the Red.

This was Marc Elishe. In 1809 he set out in a covered wagon with a few slaves to settle this country. A certain scout by the name of Rabelais accompanied him on this journey.

In those days such a journey was a perilous adventure. So these staunch pioneers braved its dangers, and in so doing they made history.

After an uneventful journey the settlers reached the Tunica village of Coulee des Grues, where the chief met them with the pipe of peace. Marc Elishe, being eager to push forward, was not long in resuming his journey toward Red River.

In the colonization period, when the railroad was unknown, cities and towns were built on rivers or at crossroads. This facilitated trade and transportation. It was the intention of Marc Elishe to locate on the Red. Such a location would ad-

vance trade and render a steady market for his farm products. At this time the Red was plied by the flatboat and paddle-wheel scows. Under such favorable conditions he could also establish a trading post and slave market.

But, according to tradition, fate had somewhat to do in selecting the site for the town of Marksville.

It so happened when this little band of pioneers reached the site of our Courthouse Square, the mishap of a broken wagon wheel befell them. Being unable to repair the wheel, they were hindered from journeying further. Moreover, the friendly attitude of the Tunicas and the fertile prairie lands readily induced them to settle here. The wagon was converted into a store and trading post, about which was built the town.

After Marc Elishe blazed the trail, other settlers began to move in. It did not take long for this obscure trading post to grow into a village. This shambling settlement was not laid out according to plans or map. It just grew by itself, after its own way, like an ungoverned child. These first settlers did not even mark out thoroughfares. To them it was easier to follow the winding cowpaths. This accounts for the meandering course the Marksville pedestrian sometimes finds himself describing.

Although little is known of Marc Elishe, we know that he was the godfather of Albert Gallatin Morrow. It was to the latter he bequeathed a certain tract of land which comprised the site of the Courthouse Square and the estate of G. L. Mayer. This bequest was made with the express proviso that Mr. Morrow was not to sell or dispose of this property in any way except for the education of his children. Beyond this nothing else is known of Marc Elishe, and he flits into the past like a shadow. Even tradition is silent concerning his later life, and the date of his death and place of burial are matters of conjecture. Indeed, that entire period of our history, ranging from the coming of Marc Elishe against the end of the first half-century, is a total blank and may well be called our dark age.

Following the resignation of Judah P. Benjamin from the United States Senate, the old Pelican State seceded. The Spirit of '61 had thrilled the South.

Louisiana was a power in the Confederacy, and the town of Marksville did its part. Our men and boys responded to the

call and fought bravely. Some of the old veterans are still living, and it is a rare treat to sit at their feet while they tell of the battles fought around Marksville.

There were a few skirmishes in the vicinity of Marksville, and in the Parish of Avoyelles; prominent among these are the engagements at Mansura and Yellow Bayou. There were some noted battles fought at Fort De Russey on Red River, five miles from Marksville.

This fort was constructed at the inception of the war by the Confederates, under the auspices of Colonel De Russey. He meant to control the Red with a chain of forts along its banks. At the bend in the river, at Gordon's Landing, he built this fort. The fort stood about five hundred yards from the river over which it had a most commanding view.

Early in the war the Federals attempted to blockade the river. To accomplish this purpose Admiral Porter sent the Queen of the West up the river to reconnoitre. Having safely passed the batteries at Vicksburg, the Queen steamed up the Red to bombard the fort. Upon nearing the fort she was discerned and fired upon. Under a heavy fire of the fort's battery she got aground on a sandbar and was boarded by the Confederates. The crew were obliged to desert the Queen to prevent being captured. The Queen was refitted and added to the Confederate ram fleet. Later she was captutred by the Federals and destroyed. A full history of this old ram would be a very interesting feature of the war. She accomplished more than any other vessel in the inland service.

In May following, Banks planned a vigorous campaign against Alexandria. He was to lead the troops on land while Rear Admiral Porter shelled the town with his ironclads. In pursuance of this plan Lieutenant Hart was sent up the river with a small fleet to ascertain whether Fort De Russey was abandoned. Upon reaching Black River, he learned that neither boats nor soldiers had been seen in the neighborhood for some time.

That night some of the officers landed and learned from two Frenchmen that the Confederates were planning to abandon the fort the next day and were going to take the guns up the river to Alexandria and there prepare for Banks. On the following morning, as the fleet came in sight of the fort's advance picket,

rushed out from the woods declaring that he was a strong Union man. He proved to be a cowardly deserter. He readily divulged the plans of the fort and piloted the fleet up the river to the fort.

In the meantime Captain Kelso, of the Confederate army, had been sent down with two armed steamboats to take the guns of the fort up to Alexandria. He had also constructed a heavy raft across the river and secured it to trees on either shore. Behind the levee he had thirty or forty cavalry armed with carbines. When the Federal fleet steamed into view they commenced the action with a discharge of five guns. The Confederates returned it promptly, and it was kept up vigorously until the smoke obscured their view. When the smoke cleared away, the firing was repeated. A 32-pounder ball from the Confederate steamer Cotton carried away the wheel, killing the pilot of the main Federal ram.

The cavalry were busy picking off the officers; they were a great help. After an hour's engagement the Federal fleet turned around and steamed down the river. Captain Kelso immediately evacuated the fort and took the guns up to Alexdria. These guns had been taken from a Federal ram some time previous. The Federal losses were far more than the Confederate. It was a great battle, probably the greatest fought on the Red.

On reaching the mouth of the river the retreating fleet met the fleet of Admiral Porter coming up the river on its way to Alexandria. They found the fort evacuated and had no trouble in passing through the obstruction. They destroyed the fort's casements and burned all Confederate property. The fleet then proceeded up to Alexandria, which was also found evacuated. At Black River the fleet was repulsed and all Federal gunboats were ordered down the river.

A part of Banks' army returned to Simsport. Two days later the remainder left Alexandria and were on the road to Simsport. They followed the road along the river and their rear was protected by Lieutenant Ellet's rams. Upon reaching Fort De Russey they left the river and marched through Marksville.

In the fall of 1863 the Confederates again occupied the fort and were employed for five months strengthening it. A formid-

able barricade was built across the river, firmly held by piles driven into the mud. The garrison was 5,000 strong, in command of General Walker. The battery was iron-plated and casemated. The Confederates depended upon this fort to stop all advances made by any army or navy in that part of the country.

A huge fleet of ironclads assembled at the mouth of the Red, joined by 10,000 troopers from Sherman's command, and proceeded up the river to capture the fort and join Banks at Alexandria. On arriving at the mouth of the Atchafalaya, part of the fleet ascended that stream while the remainder steamed up the river to amuse the forts by feints until the troopers could arrive and attack the fort from the rear.

The detachment of the fleet which went up to Simsport encountered a body of Confederate soldiers. The crew drove them back, and upon the arrival of the Federal soldiers the Confederates retreated to Fort De Russey. General Walker left the fort in charge of 300 men and retreated toward Alexandria with the others. Soon after, the boats joined the main part of the fleet at the fort. The obstruction had already been removed. After a brisk musketry fire, the Federal soldiers took the fort. About fifty Confederates were killed and the rest were taken prisoners.

When I made a trip to the City of New York in the summer of 1916, I did not go there to see the skyscrapers of that great city; I went there to see the author of "Sonny." After a brief correspondence I arranged for an interview with Ruth McEnery Stuart. The great teachers of the world are never without their disciples, and, as the late Elbert Hubbard tells us, the world always makes a beaten path to the abode of a good author. I was, therefore, but one of the many who repaired from time to time to the residence on West Fifty-eighth Street. But on arriving there, I was shocked to learn that the master writer of fiction was ill as a result of overtaxed mentality.

God often goes to somewhat obscure places for His great men. He also goes to such places for His great women. The quaint little village of the prairie—Marksville of 1856—was the scene of the nativity of Ruth McEnery, later Mrs. Stuart. This little girl was destined to become a novelist whose genius the South is proud of.

The McEnery family resided in an humble home—a true nestling place for the offspring of genius—which stood on the present site of the residence of the late Mayor Couvillion. Writing for the *Times-Democrat* in 1897, Mrs. Eva Sewell Gaines thus describes the McEnery residence:

"* * * The dwelling, with its dim gray stucco walls and quaint saddle roof seems a bit of old-time history. The ceilings are low, with rafters painted; the walls are of brick and stucco, the latter peeling off, leaving unsightly scars. The mantels are high, narrow and of carved wood. Altogether, the place wears an eerie aspect."

Ruth was the daughter of James and Mary Routh (Stirling) McEnery. Her father was an unassuming merchant, but a man of distinction personally, as was his family for generations, both in Ireland and in Louisiana, where they have been men of professions and where they were called to high positions in public life. Two McEnerys have been elected Governor of Louisiana. Moreover, Mrs. Stuart was the kinswoman of five Governors.

Her mother came from a long line of sturdy Scotch ancestry, the Rouths and Stirlings. It was the Stirlings whose crest bore the oft-quoted motto: "Be sure you're right, then gang forward." With such a noble ancestry Ruth McEnery, the woman, was possessed of all the inherent qualities of a high-bred Southern woman.

Ruth, when but a child, was sent to New Orleans, where she was educated until 1865. In 1879 she married Alfred O. Stuart, a cotton planter in Southwestern Arkansas, where she lived until her husband's death, occurring four years after their marriage. Later she moved to New York with her only son, Stirling McEnery Stuart.

Mrs. Stuart was born with a pen, and she soon realized it. In New York her literary career was begun in earnest. The Stuart Apartment soon became a literary center.

Among her many stories and novels, "Sonny," Salina Sue," "Babette" and "Mary Ellen" stand first and foremost. In her writings she has not forgotten her native State and its Crescent City, where she received those childish impressions which ever cling to one. Her recollections of the inland country folk of Arkansas are depicted in "The Woman's Exchange" and other stories.

Mrs. Stuart is also a poet, and a philosopher as well. Of course, she did not found a school of thought or anything like that. Neither is her philosophy the polished, high-sounding logic of an Emerson. It is the diamond-in-the-rough sort, as found in her clever little poems, "Daddy Do-Funny's Wisdom Jingles." I think the best thing she ever wrote in the way of poetry was the little poem about the canary. There is as much philosophy in it as poetry:

"De little yaller cage-bird preems 'is wings,
And he mounts 'is pyerch an' sings an' sings.
He feels 'is cage, but I 'spec he low
To take what comes an' sing anyhow!"

And would not the following, taken from her masterly tragedy "Mary Ellen," do honor to a Novalis?

"They are great mystics, after all, the children. And are they not, perhaps, wise mystics who sit and wonder and worship, satified not to understand?"

It is in the "Cocoon" she so wisely muses, after the manner of a Jacques:

"I am one of the dramatis personæ in the great tragedy of 'Life and Death.' We're all in it, whether we realize it or not. I know I'm cast for something, and sometimes I'm afraid to stir lest I jostle my cap and ring by bells."

Her style of writing is beautiful and brilliant. All through her works there is a striking beauty, both in style and sentiment. It is this which peculiarly distinguishes her as a master writer. And yet her style is not remarkable; but it is such that raises in the reader an emotion of the gentle, placid kind, overspreading the imagination with an agreeable and pleasing serenity.

No one who loves the masters but must see, therefore, the touch of the master hand in her writings. Hence, there is no need of monuments nor essays to perpetuate her name and fame, for her works are in themselves an immortality.

Mounds Excavated by Dr. Moore.

The mounds of the interesting chain along Red River, and in the vicinity of Marksville, were excavated in 1912 by Dr. Clarence B. Moore, the noted archæologist of Philadelphia. He published the result of the discoveries under the title of "Some

Aboriginal Sites on Red River." The discoveries therein set forth are of interest both to our history and to archæology.

We made mention of a square mound with the sides facing the cardinal points of the compass. This mound is situated about a mile from the mouth of Bayou L'Eau Noire, and is known as the upper mound. It does not seem likely that it was constructed for burial purposes. It is subject to overflow, and water has been seen to almost reach the summit plateau. It is most likely a mound of the domiciliary type which was abandoned and used as a burial ground. This was often the case in the event of migration.

The bones discovered were lying near the surface in bunches and in a few cases singly. In the bunched burials were skulls of children and adults. If the aborigines who dwelt on, and buried in, this mound were accustomed to placing tributes with their dead, the mortuary offerings must have been of a perishable character, for mementoes of no sort were found.

A short distance away is the lower mound on Bayou L'Eau Noire. The skeletons in this mound had been placed on the back. The aborigines who buried here placed tributes with the dead; mussel shells were found at the heads and wrists of some. These were, perhaps, the chiefs and warriors. Near the bones of one was found an earthenware vessel. The ware is gray and apparently had undergone imperfect firing, which seems to be characteristic of much of the ware found on lower Red River.

At the ankles of a few were found pebbles, doubtless belonging to rattles. These must have been the medicine men or war dancers. One skeleton was found with the legs crossed. Near by was another lying at full length having beneath the right shoulder blade a pigment preparation of red oxide or iron. Over the humerus of another was a badly broken vessel. These were the only burials found here with tributes in association.

Apart from the human remains, though no doubt at one time with them, lay the fragments of broken pottery, barbed arrow heads and rattles. Among the broken vessels was found a large bottle of soft gray ware. It was curiously designed, and bore great resemblance to the pottery designs of the Aztecs. A similar bottle was discovered some time prior to this in a mound excavated in Mississippi.

The lower mound, on Saline Point, is in sight from the river bank. This mound is of circular basal outline. Few discoveries were made here. The only one worthy of mention was a small earthenware peace pipe.

The upper mound on Saline Point is situated in woods. The remains and evidences of cremation were found here. Du Pratz says that none of the Indians in Louisiana practiced cremation. It is very unlikely that the custom of these Indians had changed in his time. One of the cremations showed traces of fire, as it was associated with masses of burnt clay, and with wasp nests of the same, hardened by fire, and upon two of these nests were distinct imprints of matting. It is probable that the nests were originally on a wigwam and burned when the remains were cremated. As a rule, all material showing fire was discarded. This, however, was an exception to the custom.

In many cases calcined bones were found. This condition was due, perhaps, to aboriginal disturbances. The mound contained all sorts of pottery, one of the pieces having a feature worthy of remark. The pot in question was incised with yellow designs. At the center of the base was a round hole which had been purposely made prior to firing. This vessel is a ceremonial vessel and the hole was made to "kill" the vessel in order to fire its soul that it might accompany the soul of its owner to the land of the spirits. This custom was practiced chiefly by the aborigines of Florida. Among other things were diminutive vases half-fired, bearing rude decorations and evidently made as toys for the wee papoose.

Near Normand Landing is a symmetrical mound of circular base. Nothing of any consequence was found here, save a flint drill. A short distance further up the river is a cemetery on the Johnson place, situated a quarter of a mile from the river. The burials here were made on the level ground, no mounds being made. Part of a skeleton was found in order, the remainder of which had been disturbed when the burial was transferred from the bonehouse.

A mile southeast of the Johnson Landing is a mound situated on the Mayer place. It is in woods and surrounded by thick underbrush. No excavation was made here. At Moncla is another mound in view from the water in a cultivated field on prairie land said to be above reach of high water. The sides of

the mound are too steep to permit the use of a plow. The owner would not allow excavation because of the thought that treasure was buried there. This ridiculous idea is widespread and sometimes acts as a deterrent to the ignorant when permission to excavate is requested.

The last mound of the Avoyelles chain is about five miles in an easterly direction from the town of Echo. It is situated some distance from the river, but is near a former course of that stream. This mound is called the Island, for the reason that it forms an apex to some elevated ground which is not covered, in periods of high water. The burials here are all post-Columbian, since glass beads were found in association.

Such in detail are the discoveries of Dr. Moore, copied in part by his kind permission.

Marksville's charter of incorporation was signed in 1843 by the Governor of Louisiana, P. O. Hebert, and approved in 1845.

MARKSVILLE'S CHARTER.

No. 126. An Act to incorporate the Town of Marksville, in the Parish of Avoyelles.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, in General Assembly convened.

That the inhabitants of the town of Marksville, in the Parish of Avoyelles, be and are hereby made a body corporate and politic, by the name of the town of Marksville, and as such can sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, shall possess a right to establish a common seal, and the same to annul, alter or change at pleasure.

Section 2. Be it further enacted, That the limits of said town of Marksville shall be laid out in a square in such manner as to include six hundred and forty acres, making the Courthouse in said town the center as near as can be done with a just regard to the interests of the inhabitants of said town, under the directions of the Mayor and Aldermen of said town or a majority of them.

Section 3. Be it further enacted, That the municipality of said town of Marksville shall consist of a Mayor and five Aldermen, three of whom together with the Mayor shall constitute a quorum to transact business; no person shall be eligible to the office of Mayor or Alderman unless he possesses in his own right real estate in the said town of Marksville; and the said Mayor

and Aldermen shall be chosen by the qualified voters, as hereinafter provided for in this act; said Aldermen and Mayor to be elected on the first Monday in June of each and every year, and the members thus elected shall continue in office during the term of one year next ensuing, and until others are elected in their stead, according to the provisions of this act; and provided, that if from some accident or other cause an election should not take place on the day fixed by the provisions of this section, then an election shall be held as soon thereafter as possible, the Mayor or a majority of the Aldermen giving ten days notice of such election by advertisement in a newspaper, if any should be published in said Parish of Avoyelles, and in case no newspapers are published at the time, then notice in writing, stuck up in three of the most public places in said town of Marksville, shall be deemed sufficient notice of said election.

Section 4. Be it further enacted, That the said Mayor and Aldermen shall constitute a board for the government of said town, and they shall have and possess the following powers, to-wit: First, they shall have the power to lay a tax upon all taxable property within their limits, not to exceed the amount of the parish tax upon the same property; second, they shall possess all the powers within said limits which have been heretofore exercised by the Police Jury of said Parish of Avoyelles; third, they shall have the power to prohibit houses of ill-fame and disorderly houses, and impose a fine not exceeding fifty dollars for each contravention of this act in relation to said disorderly houses or houses of ill-fame; fourth, they shall have power to remove all nuisances, tax all plays, shows, billiard tables and every other species of games not expressly prohibited by the laws of the State, in such sum as to them may seem just and proper; provided, that said tax shall never exceed one hundred per cent. on the State tax; fifth, they shall have power to appoint a Treasurer, Secretary and Collector, and such other officers as may be necessary for the administration of said town of Marksville, and to require such bond and security for the faithful performance of their duties as the said Mayor and Aldermen by their own by-laws may prescribe; sixth, they shall have power to remove all persons who may be seized with any contagious or infectious diseases, and establish a hospital in the neighborhood for their comfort and reception; seventh, they shall have power to prescribe fines for all breaches of this act of incorporation of the by-laws of said town of Marksville, not to exceed fifty dollars, and the same to sue for and recover for the use of said town or corporation; eighth, they shall possess all the powers that are prescribed by law for the government of corporations in general.

Section 5. Be it further enacted, That the Mayor shall be ex-officio justice of the peace within said limits, and shall be com-

missioned accordingly; and in case of non-acceptance of said commission, he shall forfeit his office of Mayor; and the inhabitants of said town shall proceed to the election of a successor, agreeable to the provisions of this act; said Mayor shall have power to suppress all riots, routs and unlawful assemblies, affrays and tumults, and all breaches of the peace, and to arrest all offenders, in the same way that justices of the peace may or can do.

Section 6. Be it further enacted, That the Mayor and Aldermen shall, immediately after this election, take the necessary oath of office to discharge their several duties as prescribed by this act; and immediately thereafter to cause a correct survey and plan of said town to be made, which shall exhibit the position of the various lots therein, and their several contents, the length and width of the streets, and their relative courses, and to make such alterations in the present plan of said town, if any there be, as may meet the exigencies of the occasion; provided, however, that nothing contained in this act shall interfere with the established rights and privileges of individuals.

Section 7. Be it further enacted, That any justice of the peace, residing in the Parish of Avoyelles, and he is hereby authorized to call the first meeting of the inhabitants of said town of Marksville, for the purpose of electing a Mayor and five Aldermen, by posting up a notification at three of the most public places in said town, at least fifteen days previous to holding of said election, and that every free male citizen over the age of twenty-one years, who has resided six months in said town, and shall have paid, or be liable to pay, a State, town, city or parish tax, shall have the right of voting at said elections of Mayor and Aldermen of said town; provided, that no person be entitled to vote unless he is a citizen of the United States.

Section 8. Be it further enacted, That the Mayor and Aldermen shall have power to make by-laws for the government of said town, and the same to repeal or modify; provided, said by-laws are not inconsistent with the laws of Louisiana, nor repugnant to the Constitution of the State of Louisiana nor that of the United States.

C. DERBIGNY,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
FELIX GARCIA,
President of the Senate.

Approved: April 6th, 1843.

A. MOUTON,
Governor of the State of Louisiana.

AMENDMENT TO CHARTER OF MARKSVILLE.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, in General Assembly convened, That the fourth section of the act entitled "An Act to incorporate the town of Marksville, in the Parish of Avoyelles," be and the same is hereby amended and re-enacted so as to read thus: That the said Mayor and Aldermen shall constitute a board for the government of said town, and they shall have and possess the following powers, to-wit: First, they shall have power to lay a tax upon all taxable property within their limits, not to exceed the amount of the parish tax upon the same property; second, they shall possess all the powers within said limits which have been heretofore exercised by the Police Jury of the said Parish of Avoyelles; third, they shall have power to prohibit houses of ill-fame and disorderly houses, and to impose a fine not exceeding fifty dollars for each contravention of this act in relation to said disorderly houses or houses of ill-fame; fourth, they shall have power to remove all nuisances, tax all plays, shows, billiard tables and every other species of games not expressly prohibited by the laws of this State, in such sum as to them may seem just and proper; provided, that said tax shall not exceed one hundred per cent. on the State tax; and provided further, that the Police Jury of the Parish of Avoyelles shall no longer have any jurisdiction within the limits of said town or impose any tax on persons or property therein, except such jurisdiction as may be necessary to impose such special tax as may be required to make and repair the courthouse and jail in said town, for which purpose taxes may be levied on the property within said town or corporation by the Police Jury, equal and no more than, on property in other portions of said parish; fifth, they shall have power to appoint a Treasurer, Secretary and Collector, and such other officers as may be necessary for the administration of said town of Marksville, and to require such bond and security for the faithful performance of their duties as the said Mayor and Aldermen by their by-laws may prescribe; sixth, they shall have power to remove all persons who may be seized with any contagious or infectious diseases, and establish a hospital in the neighborhood for their comfort and reception; seventh, they shall have power to prescribe fines for all breaches of this act of incorporation, or of the by-laws of said town of Marksville, not to exceed fifty dollars, and the same to sue for and recover for the use of said town or corporation; eighth, they shall possess all powers that are prescribed by law for the government of corporations in general.

Section 2. Be it further enacted, That no person shall be eligible to the office of Mayor or Aldermen who does not reside within the limits of said corporation and possesses the legal quali-

fications necessary to entitle him to a seat in the General Assembly of this State.

Be it further enacted, That the election for the officers of said town of Marksville, as contemplated in this act, shall take place on the first Saturday of June, eighteen hundred and fifty-five, and on the first Saturday of June each succeeding year; and all laws contrary to this act are hereby repealed.

JOHN M. SANDIDGE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
ROBERT C. WICKLIFFE,
President of the Senate.

Approved: March 9th, 1855.
P. O. HEBERT,
Governor of the State of Louisiana.

A true copy.
ANDREW S. HERRON,
Secretary of State.

FROM AN INDIAN VILLAGE
TO A COUNTY SEAT;
FROM A TRADING POST
TO A THRIVING MUNICIPALITY;
MORE THAN A CENTURY OF HISTORY.
SUCH IS THE STORY OF MARKSVILLE.
FINIS.

JOE MITCHELL PILCHER.

MEETING OF NOVEMBER, 1917.

The Louisiana Society met in the Cabildo on Tuesday, November 27th, at 8 o'clock, the usual date of meeting having been changed by the Executive Committee out of compliment to the Prison Reform Association meeting that had pre-empted all the evenings of the third week in November for their meetings. There was a good attendance of members and guests. The President was absent, but was replaced by Mr. John Dymond.

After the reading of the minutes the following members were placed in nomination and eletced:

Mr. James Long Wright, 617 Common Street.
Mr. Alfred S. Amer, St. Charles Hotel.
Mr. Robert Legier, 124 Carondelet Street.
Mr. F. A. Brunet, 313 Royal Street.
Miss Marie L. Points, 930 Elysian Fields Street.

Miss Marie V. Denegre, 2427 St. Charles Street.
Mrs. J. W. Carnahan, 2204 Calhoun Street.
Mrs. Benjamin Ory, 1620 Seventh Street.
Mrs. Fred Querens, 2016 Baronne Street.
Mr. P. L. Noblom, 516 Canal Street.

Miss Grace King read the paper of the evening, "The Real Philip Nolan," the material for which, original documents and letters, were furnished by Miss Kate Minor, who was present, and who added greatly to the interest of the paper by the reminiscences she was able to contribute on the life history of Philip Nolan, who had married a great-aunt of hers.

Mr. Hart made a short report about the Bienville celebration held in the City Hall on October 24th.

Mrs. Gregory reported that her husband, stationed in France, had in a letter described the bi-centennial celebration of the founding of New Orleans held in Paris on the same date as this Bienville celebration in this city. He said it was largely attended and in every way worthy of the event.

There was some short discussion after Miss King's paper before the Society adjourned.

THE REAL PHILIP NOLAN.

By Grace King.

We are all of us acquainted with the remarkable story, "The Man Without a Country," by Edward Everett Hale; one of the classic gems of our literature. Its theme infinitely above the usual commonplace theme of the short story, coupled with a title of sinister significance, has placed it apart in a class to itself.

The man without a country! What a mournful echo the title arouses in the heart! It conveys, and apparently was meant to convey, a severe moral, appearing, as it did, in the period closely following the Civil War. The moral did not commend it at first to Southern readers, who have since had to learn to accept and admire it for its pure literary beauty and exalted ideals, and as we see to-day, its impartial sincerity of sentiment. When the story first appeared, it was taken in such sober seriousness, so much curiosity was aroused as to its origin, whether the hero, Philip Nolan existed in romance or in real life, that Hale, in a

preface to one of its numerous editions, felt constrained to state that the story lacked all foundation in fact; but later he wrote a novel called "Philip Nolan and His Friends," a story built upon historical records, which with a different fate from "The Man Without a Country," is to be found now only in the limbo of unread books in public libraries, where it holds its position merely by virtue of the preface containing Hale's reflections on his hero.

"I feel," he writes, "that I owe something to the memory of Philip Nolan, whose name I took unguardedly for the name of a hero of my own creation." The part that the real Philip Nolan played in the history of our country is far more important than that of many a hero who has statues raised in his honor. He was murdered by the Spanish government, who dishonored its own passport for his murder. Spain was strong then, and America was weak, and Mr. Jefferson a "pacifist."

Philip Nolan was a Southerner, and his story, in truth, belongs to us in Louisiana. How it was captured and made, as we may say, a spoil of conquest, is one of the interesting memories of our distinguished co-member, Miss Kate Minor, of Southdown plantation, Terrebonne Parish, whose life seems held together by a chain of such memories. This one, with the papers belonging to it, she has graciously put at the service of the Historical Society. She, and she alone, can explain why Philip Nolan's name should have been singled out to typify a rare incident of disloyalty, with its unnecessarily cruel and harsh punishment. Hale while traveling in leisurely, philosophical fashion through the South after the close of the Confederate War, came to Louisiana, and was, no doubt, glad to leave the sad war-beaten City of New Orleans for the country, particularly for so beautiful a region of the State as Terrebonne Parish, where if anywhere in the world Nature was strong and opulent enough to conceal, if not cure the ravages of war.

In Terrebonne, he enjoyed further the hospitality of a typical Southern home, that of Mr. William J. Minor, on the plantation which green, fertile and prosperous bears so well the pleasant English name of "Southdown." Miss Minor relates that she recalls with vivid distinctness the picture of her mother sitting and talking with the distinguished, handsome stranger, lately numbered with the foes of her country, entertaining him in the charming way that Southern ladies have always known how to

entertain strangers in their homes, so that to alter the Biblical expression, when they have passed on, they have found that they have often been entertained by angels unawares. Naturally the conversation did not turn on the recent bloody past; that would have been a poor way to entertain, at that time, a courteous and courtly Northern visitor; but it went back to the farther past, to the stately colonial past, with its romance and poetry and glamorous life of abundant prosperity and wealth; and as it seems to the descendants of that time, of unmeasured pleasures and ease. And, àpropos, perhaps, of a compliment to the beautiful green land outside the window, it must have been explained that Southdown plantation did not belong to the colonial past of the Minor family, but to their more recent history.

The present owner of Southdown and his forebears, as we know, but of course Mr. Hale did not, belong to Natchez, where their home was the famous "Concord Mansion," the most famous mansion in its time in the Mississippi Valley.

Would that we could have heard Mrs. Minor's descriptions of it! And of the stories connected with it! No woman in the world, I firmly believe, can relate such stories as beautifully and simply as the Southern woman, of the generation of our mothers.

Mrs. Minor, evidently, as such story tellers did, went back to what they called their "beginning," that is to what their mothers had told them; and their mothers invariably in the narrative went back to their "beginning," that is to what their mothers had told them.

And so, in the easy, leisurely course from reminiscence to reminiscence (the hours are long on a Louisiana plantation), the name immortalized by Hale came in due succession in the story of Mrs. Minor's grand-aunt, Fannie Lintot; and this was the first time that the name of Philip Nolan ever fell upon Hale's ears.

Mrs. Minor's story must have been as follows:

Fannie Nolan was the daughter of Bernard Lintot, one of the early settlers of Natchez. He was the son of William Lintot, of the Inner Temple, London. His will, dated 1753, with a deed of sale of certain property in the County of New Haven and Colony of Connecticut, dated 1774, is still to be seen in the Minor family archives. Bernard Lintot emigrated from Old England to New England, and he later moved southward from New England to

the Natchez country, where he became prominent among its citizens.

His oldest daughter, Catherine, married Stephen Minor, the distinguished General Don Estevan Minor, of the Spanish domination. Stephen Minor was the father of William J. Minor, and, therefore, grandfather of our member, Miss Minor, who also bears the family name of Catherine.

The reminder may not be unnecessary that in 1763 Natchez, sharing the fate of France's northern possessions in North America, had passed into the power of England, while Louisiana, as we know, was transferred by secret treaty to Spain. Hence, while New Orleans, for forty years under Spanish régime, progressed in the way of Latin development, the little village of Natchez grew and formed itself on the English model and remained sturdily and conservatively English, even when it passed again temporarily under Spanish rule, and remained the same when the Mississippi became a part of the United States. We may say it is still noticeably so to-day. A fine flow of immigration from England had marked the brief period of English domination, and another flow of as fine a type of settlers, Tory sympathizers, came in from New England* and the State adjoining after the Revolutionary war, all attracted by the beauty of the country, its fine climate and fertile soil and the secure expectation that Natchez would, in time, become the commercial and maritime rival of New Orleans, or, pending that, that Great Britain would eventually make New Orleans and the Mississippi her own as securely as she had Quebec and the St. Lawrence.

And, therefore, at the end of the eighteenth century we may picture Natchez the pretty little "White Apple Village" of a noble tribe of Indians, expanding in all the beauty and refined culture of an English rural town, with noble brick edifices; manors standing in great parks of stalwart trees; the vestiges of the primeval forest; served by lordly retinues of slaves; altogether an aristocratic, if not lordly community, living as such communities lived in similar towns in England, maintaining a strict social etiquette, entertaining with handsome ceremonious dignity; rolling along smooth, well-kept roads in pompous carriages imported from the mother country, drawn by blooded stock

*Bernard Lintot, as we saw, came from Connecticut.

from famous stables driven by liveried coachmen, attended by liveried grooms and outriders.

The greatest, as well as the most important personage of the community, as he should have been, was the Spanish commander, Brigadier General Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos. He was a Spaniard of Spaniards in blood, religion and in loyalty to his King and in obeisance to the court ritual imposed by his official position. But he had been reared and educated in England; had, moreover, married an American lady, and this, with his geniality of temper and love of conviviality, more nearly approached him to the people he governed than the power in whose name he governed. Speaking English fluently and elegantly, he was well qualified to be the social as well as the political center of Natchez. He lived in a stately mansion, situated two miles from the town and the same distance from Fort Adams, its military station. The house was palatial, according to the Spanish standard at that time, of official residences; the furniture, cornices and mantels were imported from Spain; and Gayoso, with happy sentiment, named it "Concord" in token of the harmonious relations existing between him and his neighbors.

When he was transferred to New Orleans, to succeed Carondelet as Governor of Louisiana, he sold Concord to his successor and friend, Don Estevan Minor, who lived there until his death, maintaining the same splendid hospitality as Gayoso. His son, William J. Minor, inherited it, but migrated from it to his great plantation of Southdown in Louisiana. All of this, and more like it, must have been described to Mr. Hale.

But for all its blossoming beauty and harmonious atmosphere, Natchez, about 1800, was not all nor solely a social paradise, as Governor Gayoso knew well. If it was not, in truth, the *center* of political agitation, it was a *wayside* station to it, for New Orleans was then, and for many years, the center and seething pot of revolutionary schemes.

Gayoso, who seemed to be given to the pleasures of Natchez society and to his entertainments at Concord, was, in fact, held by his position, to the exercise of the same painful vigilance and unrelenting suspiciousness, that kept Carondelet on a tense strain in New Orleans. Never in the history of a country were there more varied forms of uneasiness to disturb the minds of its rulers. French, Spanish and American agitators were all at work in

the West and South, conspiring against and undermining the constituted authorities, preparing the way all unconsciously for the one solution of the political problem that overwhelmed them all—the cession of Louisiana to the United States.

In the meantime, after the exercise of infinite patience on the part of the United States against the infinite wiles of procrastination exercised by the Spaniards, the boundary lines between the two powers had been fixed and the United States troops were advancing to take possession of the province, when Spain would withdraw its garrisons according to the treaty of 1795. General Wilkinson, commander-in-chief of the United States forces of the West, who was to take possession of the territory, was stationed at Fort Adams, a few miles from Natchez, and from thence shared the responsibilities of the hour with Gayoso, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship; each man, as it appears to-day, seeking, for reasons of his own, the confidence of the other; and it may be questioned if Wilkinson would ever have been the historical enigma he is to-day had it not been for his associations with, and fondness for, the society of the accomplished Gayoso and his pleasure in the banquets at Concord and afterwards in New Orleans, where we remember Gayoso died in consequence of convivial excesses with his stouter trencher companion.

And now at last Nolan comes into the narrative; arriving in Natchez from New Orleans in 1799 and bringing the following letter of introducion from Wilkinson to his good friend Gayoso:

"This will be delivered to you by Nolan, a child of my own raising, true to his profession and firm in his attachment to Spain. I consider him a powerful instrument in our hands should occasion offer. I will answer for his conduct. I am deeply interested in all that concerns him, and I confidently recommend him to your protection."

To make this more important and confidential, it was written in cipher, which circumstance with the incriminating sentence in it, has been used against the imprudent writer and brought in question its authenticity. At that day the credentials of a stranger were, generally speaking, not letters of introduction, but the looks, manners and deportment of a gentleman; and these were accepted, so to speak, on sight if in addition the stranger bore the reputation of being able to defend himself with gallantry against aspersions of his honor. In these respects Nolan had nothing to fear. He was young, good looking, with the bearing

and language of a gentleman of proved courage and famed as an athlete of extraordinary strength, being able, it is said, to lift a bag containing two thousand pieces of silver with one hand from his saddle and carry it into the house. He comported himself with the assurance of a man in his rightful place in the best society. In a word, to describe him succinctly and comprehensively, he was a Kentuckian of Irish parentage, reared by that grand seigneur of civil and military life, General James Wilkinson, whose heartwhole affection for his protégé is expressed in the following exuberant letter, taken from the Minor archives. It is dated Evansville, July 12, 1796:

"*Child of My Affection and Friend of My Bosom:*

"Your letter, written at Frankfort, did not reach my hand until the 7th of February, and I embrace the earliest opportunity to thank you for it and to express to you the joy I feel at the prospect of soon embracing you and comparing the news of the scenes and changes of our respective lives since we parted. Mine has been, in general, made up of mortifications and disappointments; my wrongs and injuries have been great, yet my mind has not lost its spring or its perseverance, and I have strong expectations that the next Congress will bring me justice. I believe all things work together for the best. An interview with you at this time is important to me in various relations and independent of personal gratification. Give it to me then at this place or Fort Washington, where you may find me the beginning of the next month, as soon as possible. It is unnecessary for me to enlarge at this time, and I dare not open the folio of my journal unless I had a week's leisure before me. Wayne's arrival will keep me here a couple of weeks. Entre nous, I am independent of him, having a furlough in my pocket from the Minister of War, to take effect as soon as he arrives. My destination after a few weeks will be Phil. Perhaps you may go with me there. I have bold projects in view, my enterprise is unabated and my mind soars above adversity. The bearer, an honest, blooded lad of your country, I recommend to your regard. He will show you the way to me.....hasten to me, and, believe me in soul unalterably, my dear Philip, your friend,

"JAMES WILKINSON."

General Wilkinson, as it is hardly necessary to explain in this Society, after a brilliant military record in the army of the United States, had resigned from the service to embark in a commercial venture that promised a good financial return; this was

the bringing of tobacco and other Western produce from Kentucky to New Orleans, a tariff-locked market to such merchandise. He came down to the city in 1797 with a small cargo and made a good sale of it. A year later he strengthened his commercial interests by a partnership with the wealthy and commercially powerful Daniel Clark, who had been his agent. But in another year he made a change in this and Nolan, whom he had brought from Kentucky, was established in the lucrative position filled by Clark; and it is the belief of those, who at that time knew Clark, that it is to this act Wilkinson was indebted for the enmity Clark displayed so effectively in the Wilkinson trial.

Later, Wilkinson, disappointed in the results of his commercial venture, abandoned it and reëntered the United States army; and Nolan, losing the agency, cast about for a new line of business. Like his patron, he sought and found it under the favor and protection of the Spanish authorities; and thus obtained the contract to furnish horses for the Louisiana regiment then being formed in New Orleans. He procured the horses in a wild state, in Texas, and, after breaking them, sold them to the various military posts, not only Spanish, but also American. Historians say that the trade was not legitimate, but was winked at by the Spanish officials which necessitated that the contractor should keep on good terms with the commandants of the Spanish posts. Nolan seems at first to have managed this to perfection. He started with a passport from Miro, and from his successor, Carondelet, to whom he had presented a highly valuable map of Texas; the first map of Texas on record. In the Minor archives, there is a passport from Gayoso in addition given in Natchez, permitting Nolan to pass through Texas to the Mexican line and even beyond in the prosecution of his search for horses. He provided himself also with letters from Catholic priests of New Orleans to the priests of Texas.

The business, at best, was a risky one; full of dangers, excitements and disappointments. Nolan himself gives a graphic description of it and his life, for two or three years, in the following letter written to Wilkinson, dated Frankfort, June 10th, 1796. It begins in Wilkinson's own style:

"The Friend and Protector of my youth, I can never forget; but ungenerously suspected for a spy by the Mexicans and even by your old friend Gayoso, I cautiously denied myself the pleas-

ure of addressing you. A letter from a trader in horses to a General of the Federal armies would have confirmed suspicions that were nearly fatal to me. Arrived at length in the land of liberty, I feel pleasure in giving you the earnest testimony of my affection.

"Governor Miro informed you that he had given me the necessary papers for my security in Mexico. They did not answer his or my expectations, and I was soon spoken of as a spy. I was not imprisoned, but I was cheated out of all my goods and in less than a year reduced as poor as any Indian who roams the forest. Disappointed, distressed, tired of civilization and all its cares, I was about to abandon it forever; the freedom, the independence of the savage life was always congenial to me by nature and I left the Spaniards and wandered among the Indians that live between the Illinois and San Antonio; this life, however, I found less pleasing in practice than in speculation. I was a favorite with the savages and Comanches; successful in the chase, victorious in the little feats of activity, but I could not altogether Indianfy myself at heart; the ties that bound me to society, memory supported. I was a debtor; I had been the only hope of a fond parent. Morality at length prevailed, and after two years lost in these savage wanderings, I returned to the Spaniards determined to make another exertion. I shall not at present intrude upon your attention by a minute recital of my little adventure. I turned hunter, caught wild horses and made my way to Louisiana with fifty head, protected by the Baron (?). Returned again to San Antonio and purchased and caught two hundred and fifty head.....I lost a great part of these by the 'Yellow Water,' sold the best at Natchez and arrived here yesterday with forty-two head."

He continues a few days later, throwing a sidelight on a phase of the Wilkinson trouble. On this account, the Newman letters are appended, although not pertinent to Nolan's history. They are copied from the originals in the Minor archives and have never been published:

"My Dear General:

"After the receipt of my last letter, Newman told me he would give me a narrative of the whole horrible transaction, that the agents you had employed (foot note refers to Power) quarrelled with him and that he was disposed to extort money from them. "Now my health declines, I feel I shall not live, I will unravel the mystery. Wilkinson knows nothing of the business; he did not put the proper questions to me. The plan originally was not to ruin him, he was not spoken to of it; it was after my return that they thought of it."

"The unfortunate devil got a stroke in the breast last winter, which caused consumption. He fell sick the day he determined to give us a faithful narrative of what he had done and the evil practice of.....party. I left him in a very low state; perhaps he is dead; I have not heard, however. When I dispatch my boat from this place I will set out by land and will be able to meet it at the mouth of Red River. After spending ten days at Natchez, if he is still alive, I will get all out of him. He told me for his sake he wishes the whole published that no part prior to his imprisonment concerns you; that they did not think of ruining you until he was confined.....He is an unprincipled villain, but I do think he is now inclined to tell the truth.

"If danger continues to hang over this province, the Baron will continue to command. Gayoso succeeds him. The Baron's destination is the Province of Quito, in South America."

"NEW ORLEANS, April 30, 1797.

"*Mr. Nolan:*

"SIR—I promised you at Natchez to give a succinct detail of the cause of my departure from the army in seventeen hundred and ninety-four. I am from some observation of yours respecting Captain Lewis induced to believe I have been miserably duped in that affair. 'That I did not desert is a fact.' I adventured on that business at the instigation of a Mr. James Hawkins, of whom I have given a strict account. What took place after my return to the United States you are in possession of. I should never have returned home had I not most religiously believed I was acting for the good of the army, nor did I ever suspect to the contrary till I arrived at Pittsburg. It was in Kentucky I saw Mr. Hawkins. I went to Greenville, and was made field quartermaster, as Hawkins told me, a post was to be given me immediately on my arrival. After I returned and found myself in so disagreeable a situation, I gave a circumstantial account of the whole affair, and at this time it was, I discovered that Wayne wished the circumstances to operate against Wilkinson and gave them that tendency with his own hand by interrogation. If Captain Lewis had deceived me by false pretensions to friendship, the account in the end will be placed right, but as I am not certain of that I must tender my observations.

"I had had some acquaintance with Hawkins previous to this affair; he appeared to be in full possession of the policy of Wayne, and also of the Indians. He spoke to me as a man in the service of the government, nor did I ever doubt it till I came to Pittsburg.

"The description and character of Hawkins which I gave Wayne in my first papers, was erased, or at least that circumstance not made a subject of inquiry; there was something in this I never could penetrate so fully as I wished.

"I frequently mentioned to Captain Lewis that Hawkins' knowledge of the army, and the secrets of the commander-in-chief, was something mysterious to me. He told me that he suspected General Wilkinson, as did the commander-in-chief also. The whole proceeding tended to keep up the idea that I had been guilty of desertion, nor was it in my power to prevent its progress.

"There is one thing which may be necessary to mention to you that Captain Lewis was particularly solicitous that I should not return from that country till Hawkins could be taken, and the party be brought to justice. He furnished me with fifty dollars, out of his own purse, he said, and was to have brought me money to Louisville, but you know the issue of that affair.

"Now, Mr. Nolan, I hope this will be satisfactory at least; it will enable you to conceive more perfectly of the subject. I wished to have been brought to trial, but could not obtain one, and one of the pretenses to avert it was that the circumstances would then be public in which would furnish the party with advantages. Wayne had acted wrong. Oh! he knew, I was sensible of it.

"R. NEWMAN."

"April 30, 1797.

"*Mr. Nolan:*

"SIR—In answer to your questions, I shall be explicit. First, I received a letter from Mr. James Hawkins, dated Louisville, requesting I went to meet him at Mathew's Ford, Floyd's Fort, on business of importatnce. I did so.

"He told me he was empowered to engage some person of activity to undertake an enterprise in favor of the army; that he wished me to engage, feeling a disposition to serve me, and that he believed it would render me independent for the future, if I was so fortunate as to be successful.

"I observed to Mr. Hawkins I should be glad of an opportunity of rendering my condition more eligible. He replied that I was acquainted with him, and if I wanted to depend on him and be guided by him, he would make my fortune; that he had no doubt of the generosity of General Wayne, and if I acted to advantage I should not only meet his approbation, but that of the whole army. He then pointed out the object, the principle to deceive the enemy in the quantity of provisions and bring them to a general action. He observed that for my own safety, measures had been concerted for my departure; that the greatest secrecy must absolutely take place; that the idea of desertion must exist in the army as well as with the enemy, and the more effectually to execute the plan, I must join the army in some capacity which would be given me on application by Colonel O'Hara.

"Mr. Hawkins did not go to the army with me; I left him in Kentucky. Colonel O'Hara gave the place of lieutenant quartermaster to me, and it was three days before the expected opportunity offered for my departure. I had no written instructions, and I was sorry for it; no communication but with Hawkins.

"Colonel O'Hara furnished me with a horse, but for no particular purpose. My instructions were to report at the War Office, that I was taken, and then on my return to the army I asked Hawkins why that report must be made. He said General Wayne had so ordered it, and that he expected he had some particular reasons for it; but that that was nothing to me; that I would find no difficulty.

"I thought Hawkins was doing me a service. I expected nothing. I proceeded to the execution of what I had undertaken. I completed it. Be the original authors whom they may, it was of infinite advantage to the army. I have suffered and perhaps may be the only one.

"However, sir, notwithstanding my taciturnity and apparent reservedness on the subject, I was, I am and will forever be engaged in the pursuit of a discovery of the authors of my destruction. And the day I left Lewis, I swore by the Gods to him, that if he deceived me, I would slay him wheresoever I found him.

"R. NEWMAN."

In the same month, April, 1797, we have another letter from Nolan to Wilkinson:

"I have gotten such a passport that I apprehend neither risk nor detention. I have instruments to enable me to make a more correct map than the one you saw. Ellicot assisted me in acquiring a more perfect knowledge of astronomy and glasses. Gayoso has made me a present of a portable sextant. My timepiece is good. I shall pay every attention and take an assistant with me who is a tolerable mathematician. I will write you again from Natchez by land. Minor's brother sets out next month. I shall take ten good riflemen with me from San Antonio. The Indians, Comanches and Apaches, are at war with the Spaniards. I calculate on a little fight."

As the writer of the interesting article on Nolan, in the Texas Historical Quarterly says:

"This letter of Nolan's is of double interest, in view of a statement of Wilkinson's in 1806, viz.: 'I have been reconnoitering and exploring the route (to Santa Fé) for more than sixteen years. I know not only the way, but all the difficulties and how to surmount them.' And we must conclude with the writer: "The close relations between the General and his protégé and the mention by the latter of maps and sextants, strengthens the suspicion that something more than horse trading was to characterize

Nolan's new venture into Texas.' He explains that some shrewd, diplomatic work in the quarrel between Gayoso and Andrew Ellicot, the American Boundary Commissioner, then at Natchez, coupled with Wilkinson's letter of introduction, had won for Nolan the favor of the Spaniards."

Gayoso's response to Wilkinson's letter of introduction was prompt and cordial, and Nolan, to judge by the following letter, which bears out the suspicions mentioned above, was made a third in the bond that united the Spanish Governor with the American commander.

"NATCHEZ, 1st April 1797.

"*My Very Esteemed Friend:*

"I am infinitely obliged for the expression of your friendship on the occasion of my promotion to the command of this province. I assure you, my friend, that for a long time I have desired the opportunity of expressing to you the sincere affection I feel for you. No one better knows your worth; also no one more than I, interests himself more in the advancement of your fortune. In truth, it is a pity that you have lost so much time in the prosecution of a plan which can only produce for you fatigue and risks, without profit; nevertheless, it may have served to make known your character; and although it seems to me that in appearance you have not had time to acquire experience, those who have known you have formed the judgment that in you are summed up the energy, knowledge, good reputation and a genius for comprehension which assuredly will open to you the door of fortune in reward of your efforts. The plan which you have communicated to me, and of which I approve, is the one most suitable for you. As I fear I shall not arrive in New Orleans before you leave, I should, therefore, like to have another conference with you on the important and useful project. I shall content myself with recommending to you that you look well to those with whom you form connections that might work injury to the most useful and the easiest way of executing your plans in order to assure their good success and avoid contingencies, I confide to you that perhaps we shall see one another again at the end of September, when I (also in confidence) trust you will bring me all the information necessary to carry out a plan that may be useful to many. It is all that is needed, as you have credit (or the means) and only lack the opportunity to put them to such use as may profit you. I shall not tire myself with repeating to you a thousand other things to strengthen you in your ideas, as I know you need no greater stimulant than that furnished by your own ambition. In this assurance and belief, I conclude, wishing you a happy

journey and a prompt return, reiterating to you with the greatest sincerity, the affection I feel for you.

"Your truly affectionate Q. B. S. M.,

"MANUAL GAYOSO DE LEMOS."

From the original in the Minor archives.

The following month, May, 1797, Gayoso writes to Nolan, this time in English:

"With pleasure I received your favor of the 22nd ultimo. Am very glad of the additional good prospect that offers for your future campaign, as I do not doubt but the new recommendations will be productive of the best effects.

"I am very much flattered with the good wishes of my friends in New Orleans. If the appointment takes place it shall be my particular study to make them as happy as it may be in my power....."

"Your most humble affectionate servant,

"MANUAL GAYOSO DE LEMOS."

(Copied from the original in Minor archives.)

The congratulations refer to the partnership recently made between Nolan and John Murdock, a citizen of Natchez, according to the following articles of agreement:

"The parties have agreed to enter into copartnership in Trade, and until a more particular Agreement shall be framed, the present is considered sufficiently binding and valid in law.

"The Capital to be employed shall not exceed ten thousand dollars. The Capital shall consist either of Cash in ready money, Goods at their Cost, Debts due from each Partner to the other, or such property as may be mutually agreed on.

"The said Murdock is to furnish two thousand four hundred dollars, on which he is to have one-third of the Profit (that is, one-third of the neat profit on his own Capital), and this seemlngly unequal Co-Partnership he enters into in consideration that said Nolan should instruct him in the purchase and conveyance of Horses, etc., from San Antonio and elsewhere to this place, introduce him to the Commander and others, and form an equal Co-partnership in any future adventure.

"The said Nolan will furnish Seven Thousand Dollars, or more if possible.

"The whole capital without discrimination shall be employed in the purchase of Horses, etc. The difference between the neat proceeds and the original Capital is the profit, which shall be divided as follows:

"In witness of the Foregoing Agreement, the parties have subscribed their names at Natchez, the Second day of April, One thousand seven hundred and ninety Seven, to two agreements of the same Tenor and date.

"Witnesses present:
"S. MINOR,
"JOHN MINOR,
"BEN CHEW.

(Signed) "PHILIP NOLAN,
"J. MURDOCK."

(Original in the Minor papers.)

There is also in the Minor archives an interesting document, an almost indecipherable fragment, recording that Philip Nolan and W. Lintot, "having in contemplation to make an experiment on the practicability of navigating against the current of the Mississippi with a horseboat, sought the exclusive privilege for the same for fifteen to twenty years, from the government, in order that they may have a hope of being compensated for their labor and loss of time and expense, that will attend the execution of the experiment." Signed P. N. and W. L., 27th Ap., 1800.

As Natchitoches was the gateway from Louisiana to Texas, and Natchez on the direct road to Natchitoches, the substitution of that place to New Orleans as a business headquarters was dictated by business reasons, and evidently Nolan, after his partnership, intended establishing himself there permanently. His next letter to Wilkinson was from Natchez, written a few months later and just before setting out on another expedition.

"July 21st, 1797.

"The Baron has given me every credential, and in my passport he says it is important to the Royal Service that I meet no embarrassment. I shall return to this place in December, pass the winter here and proceed to Kentucky in the spring. Gayoso is at length appointed Governor General and will leave this place for New Orleans in a few days. Grandpré is appointed Governor of Natchez by the King. 'Blue Eye' (reference is impossible of verification) has no doubt made you acquainted with Gayoso. He is a vile man and my implacable enemy, yet he treats me with attention. During the commotions here he wrote to the Baron requesting that he would not permit me to leave New Orleans. 'He will take an active part against us; he is popular and enterprising; secure him.' Under the same cover he subscribed himself my friend, and but a few days before made me a present of a sextant.

"The Baron knows him, and has done all in his power to secure me from his vengeance. I have, however, my fears, and I may yet be obliged to shoot the monster with a poisoned arrow."

(From General Wilkinson's Memoirs, Volume 11.)

On his return from this expedition, Nolan learned that his distrust of Gayoso was justified. Clark, in New Orleans, who remained a good friend of Nolan's, notwithstanding his rancor against Wilkinson, learned through confidential relations with the Spanish officials that Gayoso had written to the Governor of Mexico to watch Nolan and all foreigners going to Mexico to foment troubles with the Indians, adding most treacherously the poisonous venom of a Spanish mind, that Nolan was a hypocrite and sacriligious, pretending to be a Catholic among Spaniards, but laughing at them when among Americans; that he had been raised and educated by Wilkinson, who had commended him to reconnoitre the country and make friendly offers to the Indians to induce them to rebel against the Spanish government. The thing, as Clark says, would have been effected to Gayoso's wish, and Nolan might, probably, have been confined for life on suspicion, but fortunately the Governor of Texas died a few days before the letter reached San Antonio, the capital of his government, and the Governor pro tempore refrained from opening the letters directed to the late Governor, and during the interval Nolan was treated as usual and only learned of the circumstance when preparing to go to the frontier again to bring in a small drove of horses still remaining there.

Here the narrative must take in the following interesting letters, found by historical researches in the voluminous records of the American State Papers. The first is from Thomas Jefferson to Philip Nolan, Philadelphia, June 2nd, 1798. (Concerning Philip Nolan. (Historical Association Quarterly, page 308):

"SIR—It was some time since I have understood that there are large herds of horses in a wild state in the country west of the Mississippi, and have been desirous of obtaining details of their history in that State. Mr. Brown, Senator from Kentucky, informs me it would be in your power to give me interesting information on the subject, and encourages me to ask it. The circumstances of the Old World have, beyond its records of history, been such as admitted not that animal to exist in a state of nature, the condition of America is rapidly advancing to the same. The present then is probably the only moment in the age of the world, and the herds above mentioned, the only subjects of which we can avail ourselves to obtain what has never yet been recorded and never can be again in all probability. I will add that your information is the sole reliance as far as I can at present see, for obtaining this desideratum. You will render to natural

history, therefore, a very acceptable service if you will enable our Phil. Soc. to add so interesting a chapter to the history of the animal. I need not specify to you the particular facts asked for, as your knowledge of the animal in his domesticated, as well as his wild state, will naturally have led your attention to those particulars in manners, habits and laws of his existence, which are peculiar to his wild state. I wish you not to be anxious about the form of your information; the exactness of the substance alone is material; and after giving me in a first letter all the facts you possess, you could be so good in subsequent occasions to furnish such others, in addition, as you may acquire from time to time. Your communications will always be thankfully received. If addressed to me at Monticello and put into any postoffice of Kentucky or Tennessee, they will reach me speedily and safely and will be considered as obligations. As ever,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

Answered by Daniel Clark:

"NEW ORLEANS, 12th February, 1799.

To Thomas Jefferson, Esq.:

SIR—You will pardon the liberty I take in addressing you when I inform you that your letter of the 24th of June, last year, directed to Mr. Philip Nolan (with whom for many years I have been connected in the strictest friendship) has, in his absence, come into my possession. That extraordinary and enterprising man is now, and has been for some years past, employed in the countries bordering on the kingdom of New Mexico, either in catching or pursuing horses, and is looked for on the banks of the Mississippi at the fall of the waters with a thousand head, which he will in all probability drive into the United States. Having direction from him to peruse all letters addressed to him previous to their being forwarded, that in case of accident no expression contained in them should awaken the jealousy of the suspicious people among whom he has by a coincidence of fortunate circumstances introduced himself. I have by this means acquired a knowledge of the object of your researches, and shall feel particular pleasure in affording my mite of assistance to forward your letter in safety to him. You judge right in supposing him to be the only person capable of fulfilling your views; as no person possessed of his talents has ever visited that country to unite information with projects of utility. Shortly after his return, but not before on account of the impossibility of applying himself during his travels with that attention he could wish to the subject, I will be responsible for his giving you every information he has collected, and it will require all the good opinion you may have been led to entertain of his veracity not to have

your belief staggered with the accounts you may receive of the numbers and habits of the horses of that country and the people who live in that neighborhood, whose customs and ideas are as different from ours as those of the horses of Grand Tartary. Did it not interfere with your other occupations, I would presume to request you would point out particular subjects on which my friend should enlarge, as some which would be probably interesting to you might be overlooked or seem too trivial to him to notice from having come so often under his observation. In this case, your letter addressed to the care of Mr. Coxe, of Philadelphia, to be forwarded to me will shortly get to Nolan's hands; and I take the liberty of referring you to Mr. Coxe for a knowledge of my character that you may not be under the apprehension concerning the person to whom you wrote. Mr. Ellicott, the Commissioner on the part of the United States, for running the line of demarcation with Spain, being now visitor in my house and having at his arrival in this country been acquainted with Nolan, who gave him considerable information on the subject in question, I have hinted to him your wish of acquiring some knowledge and he will doubtless consider himself happy in contributing as far as lies in his power to this end until Nolan himself can have an opportunity of giving you perfect satisfaction. In the meantime I must suggest to you the necessity of keeping to yourself for the present all the information that may be forwarded to you, as the slightest hint would point out the channel from whence it flowed and might probably be attended with the most fatal consequences to a man who will at all times have it in his power to render important services to the United States, and whom nature seems to have formed for enterprises which would deprive the world of this extraordinary character. His papers, which are confided to me and a mutual friend now in the Spanish service, shall be carefully examined, and everything relating to that country shall be forwarded to you with such other remarks as both of us from our own knowledge and information have acquired. The desire I have that you should be possessed of every information and the certainty that the philosopher and politician will excuse the freedom of the persons interesting themselves in procuring such as may be useful, emboldens me to mention Mr. William Dunbar, a citizen of Natchez, in the Mississippi Territory, as a person worthy of being consulted by you on subjects relating to this country, its productions or any philosophical questions connected with them. He was for some time employed by the Spanish Government as their astronomer, on the line of demarcation, but has retired to his estate, and for science, probity and general information is the first character in this part of the world. His long residence in this country, still little known to men of letters, its situation

with respect to many savage tribes, some of which lately inhabited the place where he resides and where their vestiges are still perceptible; the extensive communication with remote parts presented by the Mississippi and concourse of Indians and traders, have given him many opportunities of making observations which may not have presented themselves to others, and may not probably occur in future. To these may be added those he has made on the country itself, its population, manners, customs of the inhabitants, the different changes in their government for the last forty years, the climate, soil and trade, which are but little known abroad; and they will, I hope, appear so important to a person whose reputation is so great as yours as to procure me your indulgence for the liberty I have taken. I have the honor to remain with sentiments of the greatest respect and esteem, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"DANIEL CLARK, JR."

And in this connection we find in the American State Papers the following testimonial from General Wlkinson to Thomas Jefferson:

"FORT ADAMS, May 22d, 1800.

"In the bearer of this letter, Mr. P. Nolan, you will behold the Mexican traveler, a specimen whose discoveries I had the honor to submit to you in the winter of 1707. Mr. Nolan's subsequent excursions have been more exhaustive and his observations more accurate.....An acquaintance of many years, from his youth, authorizes me vouchsafe for Mr. Nolan's probity and recommend him to your kindness."

But, naturally, Mrs. Minor did not know of all this, the findings many years afterwards of diligent historical researches; but she could tell what the historical searchers never lighted on, for all their diligence, the romance in the life of the hardy adventurer who came to Natchez, as we have seen, armed cap à pié, to conquer love and fortune in that period of conquest of fortune by hardy, brave adventurers. As the little song describes it in four short lines:

"It is an old, old story,
And yet 'tis always new;
And ever when it comes to pass
There breaks a heart in two."

As it comes down to us in family tradition, Nolan going into the highest official and business circles found also the doors of society flung open before him; even the reserved, conservative society of Natchez; and thus he met and fell in love with the

beautiful and charming daughter of William Lintot, Fannie Lintot, whose sister was married to Don Estevan Minor, the most prominent as well as the richest citizen of the place, and the most important man in the colony after Gayoso de Lemos. It was not surprising that Nolan should fall in love with her; many, in fact, all the young men of Natchez fell in love with her; for she was the recognized belle of Natchez, and to be a belle is to be sought after by the beaux. But she, whose heart had been so cold and inaccessible to others, fell also in love with Nolan. In that day of romance this meant more than it does to-day, the day of common sense.

Her family opposed her choice, very naturally. The daughter of Lintot and sister of the austere and haughty Stephen Minor to marry the protégé of Wilkinson, already under suspicion of disloyalty, and a horse trader to boot (for thus did Nolan's business appear to them in its naked truth). The thing was impossible! as Nolan was told without circumlocution when he made his demand of Lintot, the father; and Nolan, not to be outdone in presenting the naked truth, asked sneeringly: "How many Texas ponies Lintot wanted for his daughter?" The rupture was complete between all but the two most vitally concerned.

If love be said to laugh at locksmiths, it is because the woman laughs at them. And, Fannie Lintot not only flouted parental objections, but soon made it apparent to all Natchez that she laughed at any family interference with the choice of her heart. Instead of obeying the parental decree, she and Nolan saw one another as often as they chose; and although her own home was closed to him, every friend's house in Natchez was open, and they were showered with opportunities for meeting. The flouted family were beaten out, and for fear of the disgrace of an elopement, consented to the union they could not prevent; and the two lovers were made happy by the only proper ending for the course of true love. One little note from Nolan remains attached to the old, old story:

"*My Dearest Friend:*

"I intended to visit you yesterday, but your father did not give me the most distant invitation. I lament that love and friendship should suffer so much through his caprice, prudence

or pride. Perhaps I will see you here to-day at the hill. I will never have that pleasure uninvited. I need not tell you I feel much disappointed, my heart is heavy; but I have the appearance of movement. As usual,

"Yr.,

"PHILIP NOLAN."

The marriage must have taken place late in 1799, for we have the following letter from Daniel Clark congratulating Nolan:

"NEW ORLEANS, 1 Jan., 1800.

"I have heard with pleasure of the event which I hope will reclaim you from your wandering way of life and request you will accept of my sincere congratulations on the occasion. The trifles I had sent will not have arrived for the ceremony, but you may be persuaded that with every possible desire to execute your commission I could not succeed in time, owing to the delay of a lady, who, being a better judge than myself, procrastinated till I lost all patience. I expect to hear from you soon. In the meantime entreat you to present my respects and felicitations to Mrs. Nolan."

"Is it true," he adds, "that you have lost a fourth part of your horses. I flatter myself that the report may be unfounded. Let me know your prospects of sale, and your plan, if you had time to form one."

And later he adds an admonition which may carry suspicion:

".....attend to your business and think not of horse racing; you will lose time and money by it. I am fearful of your going into it, and, therefore, warn you against it.

"Yours affectionately,

"DANIEL CLARK."

From the ardent and impetuous bride there is but one letter; it is not addressed, dated "August, 1800, at Mr. Dunbar's." In it she writes like any ordinary happy wife to one of her family:

"Polly Minor is not going down with Billy, nor have I heard a word about Betsy's intending to be of the party. Billy is arrived and was here this morning, and informed me he would set off for B. R. (?) in early September. As to my going with him, it depends entirely upon whether Mr. Nolan can dispatch his business before that time. I am pretty confident that will not be the case. I, therefore, will not see you until you arrive at Natchez."

On the 22d of August, still at Forest Hill, the Dunbar plantation, is added the following continuation of family news:

"Mr. Nolan went to the swamp, where he keeps his horses, yesterday; he was not well; I am very fearful he has got the fever

again. We were obliged to sell Bob, and Mr. Nolan bought a negro man of the name of Joe. I am sorry to hear that you have got the fever again, the headache, I mean. All our family are well except Kitty Minor the younger, who still has the fever. Mr. Minor has given over going down this summer. Farewell, my dear, remember your

"F. NOLAN."

In October following his marriage, Nolan set out on what proved to be his last expedition for horses. He may have intended it to furnish the topmost stone on the pinnacle of his fortune, and thus he may have represented it to his wife and her friends. She bade him goodbye with confident courage; such women are not apprehensive; and when the time elapsed for his return we can imagine her still confident and courageous looking for his return, still sure of him. But he never returned. She never heard of him or his party again, and after a weary, painful six months of waiting her child was born to a broken-hearted mother. For at the last, instead of the truth, the malignant suspicion whispered about, by her family and friends, cast its black shadow upon her. She, the proud and haughty Fannie Lintot, was a deserted, perhaps betrayed wife! And she who could have borne any other misfortune sank under the disgrace of her love. She died, leaving behind her the story of her tragedy and her infant son, who, it would seem, died also from the blight that fell upon him befre he was born. A moral and physical weakling, he was cared for by his mother's family until he was twenty-one, when he died of consumption and was buried beside his mother in Natchez, the last sad relic of two heroic souls.

The narrative, as related by Mrs. Minor to Mr. Hale, must have ended here. It was to account for the complete disappearance of Philip Nolan and the mysterious silence that enveloped his fate that Hale invented the fiction connecting him with the Burr conspiracy (an episode beginning several years later), or perhaps this may have been suggested as a family suspicion, an after infection of the great epidemic of suspicion, of disloyalty and treasonable connection with Burr, that raged throughout the South for many years afterwards with fatal effect to many a fair reputation in Louisiana and Mississippi.

The sequel of the story is told by the historians of Texas, and we know that the poor wife died for want of knowing what in her pride and love she would have given her life to know.

It is the same old story as old as the story of true love and broken hearts, and conveyed in the homely proverb about the pitcher that goes to the well, it passes on generation after generation.

Having engaged a larger company of men than usual and making his arrangements as carefully as of yore, notably in gaining friends among the Spanish authorities in Texas, Nolan had every reason to count upon his usual success, such a success as in 1798, for instance, when he brought back a fine cavalcade of 1,200 horses. He made greater preparations than ever before and started with a following of twenty men, taking for granted that as usual he could break through any snares and be superior to any mischance that he could not foresee. And, too, with all Americans he despised the Spaniards too much to credit them with the forceful sagacity in working out their own designs that they really possessed. Gayoso de Lemos, who had been transferred to New Orleans, succeeding, as he had aspired to do, Carondelet, as Governor of Louisiana, was dead. Stephen Minor had replaced him for a time as commandant of the Natchez district, but had resigned from a Spanish official position to follow his State into the Union and had become again an American citizen. Don José Maria Vidal succeeded him as commandant, and eventually became Consul in the Natchez district. He presumably was a friend of Nolan's and knew, and could not help knowing, the truth about his plans; that now, at least, they were purely money-making. Nevertheless, actuated by a personal spite or public zeal, when the expedition was about starting he entered a complaint against Nolan before Governor Sargent, the American Governor of Mississippi, and Judge Bruin, the judge of the Superior Court, asking that he and his expedition be arrested and detained. Nolan, brought before these high authorities, exhibited his passports and papers and was allowed to proceed. Vidal, however, not to be balked in his design, sent an express to the Spanish Commandant at Washita to stop Nolan. That snare, as we shall see, was easily avoided; not so the other one set by Salcedo, the new Governor of Louisiana, vice Casacalvo, who had ad interim replaced Gayoso.

One of the first measures of Salcedo's administration, as he informs his government, was directed to check what he thought the dangerous designs of the Americans, who as neighbors he considered very unsafe. He, therefore, reported that he had sent up to Natchitoches all that was necessary to arm and equip the militia of that district, with the view of counteracting the projects of the American bandit, Philip Nolan, who had introduced himself into the interior provinces of New Spain with thirty-six armed men.

In the meantime Nolan started on his expedition. The account of it is preserved in the narrative of one of his company, Ellis Bean, who, when a boy of seventeen lived in Natchez, whom Nolan engaged to go with him.

They crossed the Mississippi at Walnut Hills and took a western course for the Washita. About forty miles from the river they met fifty Spaniards sent by the Commandant at Washita to stop them. Though the Americans counted only twenty-one men, the Spaniards were afraid to attack them. Avoiding Washita, the troops passed on, crossing the Washita River and heading for Red River, at the old Caddo town. In six days they reached the Trinity River, and crossing it found big open prairies through which they advanced. For nine days the company was compelled to subsist on the flesh of mustang horses, when they reached the Brazos, where they found wild horses by thousands. Here they built an enclosure and penned about three hundred head, and here they were visited by a party of two hundred Comanche Indians, with their women and children, who invited the Americans to the South Fork of Red River to see their chief. The Americans went and stayed there a month, making friends with four or five tribes who were at peace with the Comanches. They then returned to the camp where they had left their horses, their Indian friends accompanying them and staying with them a few days, when they left to go on a buffalo hunt. But it was found after they left that they had stolen eleven horses. As they were the trained horses used for capturing the wild ones, and the Americans could not get along without them, they determined to pursue the thieves, although this had to be done on foot. Nolan, with Bean and four men and a negro boy named Cæsar, volunteered for this service. In nine days they came upon the Indians in camp, but found there but a few

men with their women and children; the rest of them had gone hunting. Four horses were discovered and taken; the rest were brought in by the hunting party in the evening. The Americans securing them, returned with them to their camp. They were resting and preparing for the capture of more horses when one morning before dawn they were surrounded by a troop of Spaniards sent by the Spanish Governor from Chihuahua, and, guided by Indians. Without speaking a word they commenced firing and after about ten minutes "our gallant leader, Nolan," was slain by a musket ball which hit him in the head. This was on March 22d, 1801.

After a spirited and skillful fight of the force of twelve against one hundred and fifty Spaniards armed with a swivel gun, which they had brought upon the back of a mule; the Americans beginning to lose their men, responded for a parley, and an agreement was made that both parties, ceasing the fight, should return to Nacogdoches together; the Americans stipulating, however, that they would not surrender as prisoners, but would retain their arms. And so they set out on the march as comrades; the Americans first, however, burying their gallant leader. In a few days they reached Nacogdoches, where the Americans were detained a month waiting for an order from the Governor of Texas at Chihuahua to return to their country. But instead of this order they were put in irons and marched off to San Antonio, where they were kept in prison sixteen months; in short, the Spaniards, keeping to their record established in America for faithlessness and cruelty to their enemies, inflicted upon Bean and his companions for the next ten years the extremist cruelty in the way of imprisonment, starvation and chains. Many of them died, but Bean, by virtue of his youthful strength and courage, was able to match cruelty with endurance and overmatch it with his wit, and thus by a series of the most extraordinary adventures in the way of escapes and recaptures that were ever related reached New Orleans in 1814, and finding the British on the point of attack, volunteered in the American army, joining Captain Maunsell White's company, which was stationed at Bayou St. John.

When the British landed, his company, as we know, was marched to the front, and Jackson, who, Bean says he had known from childhood, stationed him at a 24-pounder in the breast-

works, where Bean remained until the British retreated. He subsequently returned to Mexico, where his adventures recommenced and continued. His Memoirs were published in 1816.

The news of Nolan's death must have reached Natchez shortly after the death of his wife.

The scholar, Mr. William Dunbar, writing to Thomas Jefferson, 22d August, 1801, says:

"Mr. Nolan has formerly given me some information of parts of New Mexico; but we have lately been cut off from our usual communications with that country by the imprudence of Mr. Nolan, who persisted in hunting wild horses without a regular permission, the consequence of which has been that a party being sent against him, he was the only man of his company who was killed. I am much concerned for the loss of this man. Although his eccentricities were many and great, he was not destitute of romantic principles of honor united to the highest personal courage with energy of mind, which under guidance of a little more prudence might have conducted him to enterprises of the first magnitude."

We meet with two of Nolan's company in the report of Captain Zebulon Pike's expedition to the sources of the Mississippi, 1807. Intercepted and detained in Santa Fé, Pike writes that he there met two white men who had been taken prisoners, still living there. And he writes:

"The diary of Nolan and many of his letters, which are in my possession, show conclusively that he was not only a gallant gentleman, but an accomplished scholar. He was thoroughly acquainted with astronomy and geography. He made the first map of Texas, which he presented to the Baron de Carondelet on his return from his first trip to Texas in 1797."

At a later period, Jan. 2d, 1808, Andrew Ellicott wrote to Wilkinson:

"I do not recollect to have ever received a hint that the late P. Nolan was concerned in any plans or intrigues injurious to the United States. On the contrary, in all our private and confidential communications he appeared strongly attached to the interests and welfare of our country."

GRACE KING.

MEETING OF DECEMBER, 1917.

The regular monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society took place on Tuesday evening, December 18th, in the Cabildo, at the usual hour. The attendance of members was not large, but the President and most of the officers were present.

After the reading of the minutes the following members were added to the Society:

Miss Delphine Points, 930 Elysian Fields Street.
Mr. Adolpho E. Hegewish, Wolvine Line, Whitney Bldg.
Mr. W. H. Anderson, 5212 Coliseum Street.
Mrs. Marie Mioton, 1219 North Rampart Street.

A letter was read from Mr. Isaac C. Sutton, of Philadelphia, telling of two old miniatures of Wm. E. Hulings, M. D., and wife, bearing the date of 1789. Dr. Hulings was at that time Consul from the United States to New Orleans. The miniatures belonged to an old lady who wanted to sell them. There was no answer to the letter.

Mr. Cusachs then introduced the subject of the paper written by the Rev. Clarence Bishpam, entitled "The Contest for Ecclesiastical Supremacy in the Mississippi Valley."

Miss Grace King stated that she had read the paper and heartily admired the spirit in which it was written, and valued its historical importance.

Mr. William Beer, who had also read the paper, endorsed it in warm terms of praise.

Miss King offered the resolution that Mr. Bishpam be requested to read the paper at the next meeting of the Society.

Mr. Beer seconded the resolution. It was passed unanimously and cordially.

Mr. W. O. Hart read the paper of the evening, "The History of the Protestant Church in Louisiana," a compilation of interesting facts and details, which was listened to with attention. At the close of his paper Mr. Hart read a contribution from Mr. Waldo, a printed leaflet, on the "Unitarian Church in New Orleans," which gave many interesting and pleasant reminiscences of the brilliant preacher and writer, the Rev. Theodore Clapp, who passed from Presbyterianism to Unitarianism in this city.

Mr. Kent, of the Unitarian Church, made a few appropriate remarks. Mr. Dymond contributed also to the discussion.

The Society adjourned to meet in January.

SOME OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE CARNIVAL.

(Read by Mr. W. O. Hart.)

(Times-Picayune, Monday, January 28, 1918.)

Mardi is only three weeks off. Usually at this time of the year New Orleans is well advanced in the gaieties of the Carnival and with balls and entertainments of various kinds following each other in rapid succession; indeed, they have sometimes come so fast that it has been a difficult matter to prevent conflicts of dates. So changed are conditions to-day and so fully is the public mind turned in other directions that it is doubtful whether one in a hundred Orleanians realize that Mardi Gras, the greatest holiday in this city and section, fully recognized and authorized by the law, falls on February 12.

A year ago the celebration had been looked forward to as likely to be one of the grandest of New Orleans' Carnivals. The city celebrates this year the second century of its existence, and it so happened that the centennial falls during the Carnival. The city had invited and arranged to entertain distinguished visitors from all parts of this continent and Europe, and our holiday was to have assumed an international importance, chronicling the restoration of the bonds of union and affection that bind New Orleans with France and Canada, whence came the men who two centuries laid the foundation of this metropolis at the mouth of the world's greatest river.

The war, however, has changed all this, as it has changed many other conditions. New Orleans was one of the first cities to make the sacrifice. It recognized that it was not right nor patriotic to devote itself to mere pleasures and frivolities when the country was in danger, when the whole world is suffering and our own people were victims of a bloody and brutal war. The prompt action of New Orleans in decreeing the suspension of the Carnival showed how thoroughly it can be counted on to do whatever it should do to concentrate its efforts to win the war.

It was suggested by many that some of the features of the day which has been celebrated here for nearly two centuries might be preserved; that some of the incidents of our bicentennial might be given; that one day might be set aside for general masking, with balls cut out. But all of these promises will have been "cut out" and Mardi Gras will be suspended from

the New Orleans calendar for 1918. Even the minor balls have been reduced to a minimum.

Everyone will realize the wisdom of this policy. It is what New Orleans has always done in the past. The people of this city are social and hospitable, and believe that life should be made as agreeable as possible, but that the serious things of life should not be sacrificed for pleasure. Whenever conditions, therefore, have been bad; whenever the community has been in danger, they have acted promptly in shutting down on Mardi Gras. We did so when Farragut's fleet was lying before the forts threatening New Orleans, and the Carnival remained suspended during the Civil War. Again, during the disturbed days of reconstruction and dual government in Louisiana, in 1875, there was no Mardi Gras. But it has been noted that when the disturbances that have caused this suspension were over New Orleans has returned to its Carnival with zeal, and reorganized and greatly improved the celebration. The Carnival of 1876 was one of the most brilliant this city has ever known, when the city awoke from its sleep. New features about it came to life, which we have ever since followed. We can be reasonably sure that we will follow this precedent when our great war is over and Americans celebrate the return to peace; but festivities of this kind are not to be thought of when we face so many dangers and difficulties and so many duties and responsibilties are thrust upon us.

TRIBUTE TO MRS. RUTH McENERY STUART.

(Read by Mr. William Beer at memorial meeting held in honor of Ruth McEnery Stuart at Tulane University.)

I esteem it a privilege to be delegated by the Louisiana Historical Society to present to this meeting its tribute of admiration and respect for one of its members, the well-known Louisiana authoress, Ruth McEnery Stuart.

I had the pleasure of being present on one of the first occasions where was recognized her talent for reading in public, adding the charm of her voice and manner to the interest of the stories themselves. This was nearly thirty years ago. She received great encouragement in her work from the kindly sym-

pathy of that ripe scholar, William Preston Johnston, president of Tulane University. Early in the '90s accident called her to New York to occupy temporarily the editorial chair of what was then the leading and most popular weekly organ appealing to women. In this position she not only made good as an editor, but by her social talents won the friendship of many of the brightest spirits of the literary world of that great city with whom she was assisted in the creation of a literary resort, Onteora on the Hudson.

There can be but little doubt that the association with men and women actively engaged in the production of literature was an incentive to the writings of that long series of successful fiction and light poetry which has won for her lasting fame and popularity. A bereavement, from the effects of which she never fully recovered, saddened her later years.

Four noble women are particularly noteworthy in the history of Louisiana literature, Mary Ashley Townsend, who contributed stately verse; Mollie Moore Davis, who gave us fiction and poetry of great beauty; these two have passed away; Grace King, who is still with us, has made valuable contributions to local history and fiction, and Ruth McEnery Stuart in whose works the present generation finds interest and amusement. These volumes will always furnish to the student of Southern history a true transcript of the manners, traditions and language of a race which forms one-half of the population of her native State. It has been my pleasant duty to collect in the Howard Memorial Library all procurable writings of these authors.

(From the New Orleans States.)

RUTH McENERY STUART.

The South is the poorer for the passing of Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart, whose death is announced in New York. Few writers have portrayed more accurately, more sympathetically and more delightfully certain phases of Southern life. Her negro and rural types were sketched with extraordinary fidelity, and she was a mistress of negro and backwoods dialect.

Born in Louisiana fifty-seven years ago, her first story was printed in 1888. Three years later she moved to New York, for the advantage she hoped it would give her in her literary career, and except for occasional visits to New Orleans she spent the rest of her life there. But change of residence made no difference

in her sympathies or the character of her work. She wrote from beginning to end of the South and Southern types, and every sketch or story reflected her affection for the section of her birth.

Her work was of high literary quality and widely praised by American critics and thousands all over the country who have been charmed by her books will mourn her passing.

(From The Times-Picayune.)

NOTED LOUISIANA WRITER EXPIRES IN NEW YORK.

RUTH MCENERY STUART FAMOUS FOR HER STORIES OF THE OLD SOUTH.

New York, May 7.—Ruth McEnery Stuart, the well-known author, died Sunday after a long illness, in the fifty-seventh year of her age.

Mrs. Stuart's first story was written in 1888 and printed in the Princeton Review, after which she gave close attention to literary pursuits, following up the first story, "Uncle Mingo's Speculations," which was a sweet, pathetic picture of negro life, with other dialect tales in magazines, until 1891, when she moved to New York.

Mrs. Stuart was one of the large number of writers who were born below Mason and Dixon's line, and have made their homes in New York, yet have given up nothing of their birthplaces. She wrote of the South, and her expatriation appeared only to give her an added stimulus to create her local perspective. One of her latest books, "Daddy Do-Funny's Wisdom Jingles," published four years ago, she said was the acknowledged and gladly owed tribute to the slaves who stood guard over women and children left in her care while the Southern men were on the battle front. The dedication was:

"To the memory of those faithful brown slave men of the plantations throughout the South, Daddy's contemporaries all, who, during the war, while their masters were away fighting in a cause opposed to their emancipation, brought their blankets and slept outside their mistresses' doors, thus keeping night watch over otherwise unprotected women and children—a faithful guardianship of which the annals of those troublous times record no instance of betrayal."

KNOWN AND LOVED HERE.

Mrs. Stuart Won Place in Hearts of All Southerners.

Mrs. Stuart was a charming writer of short stories, and her depictions of negro types, and the type of backwoods whites, both contemptuously and affectionately termed "Hillbillies," made her famous throughout the country. Joel Chandler Harris wrote her on one occasion: "You have got nearer the heart of the negro than any of us," a statement which will be indorsed by those who have known the negro all their lives. A master of dialect, Mrs. Stuart was a close observer also, and had the retentive memory of past years that one has found so remarkable in Mark Twain. She was one of the few women writers who had an appreciation of humor, and, unlike most of the humorists of her sex, she made her readers laugh with her characters rather than at them.

Ruth McEnery was born in Marksville, La., in 1860, the daughter of James McEnery and Mary Ruth Stirling. Five of her kinsmen have been Governors of Louisiana. Samuel D. McEnery, Governor and United States Senator, was her first cousin. In the nineteenth century her family was almost continuously represented in the Congress of the United States. Her father, who was a cotton commission merchant in ante-bellum days in New Orleans, was born in Limerick, of a noble Irish family, whose estates were confiscated in the days of Oliver Cromwell. Sir John Stirling, her mother's father, was a sturdy Scot, who came to this country and invested his means in land and slaves, dropping the title when he became a citizen of the republic.

BEGAN TO WRITE IN THE '80s.

Ruth McEnery married Alfred Oden Stuart, a cotton planter, of Hemptsead County, Arkansas, in 1879. Her husband died four years after her marriage, leaving her one son, Stirling McEnery Stuart, who died just as he was on the threshold of manhood.

Mrs. Stuart began to write for the public in the latter '80s, and for the convenience of being near her publishers she moved to New York and had lived in that city since, except for the time spent each year in her summer home in the Catskills. During her residence in the North, however, she frequently visited her friends in this city, and traveled extensively. She was at one time editor pro tempore of Harper's Bazaar, and occupied the editorial chair of other publications, but she would accept no permanent employment of that sort, preferring to write the stories which charmed thousands of persons.

HOMELY PHILOSOPHY.

One or two jingles will give a good idea of Mrs. Stuart's verse and their homely philosopsy. Take "The Terrapin":

"Br'er Terrapin draws in 'is head so knowin',
You can't tell whether he's comin' or goin';
But his mind ain't mixed—he's layin' low,
'Tel he sees which way he's obleeged to go.
An' he ain't no new politician in dat—
No, he ain't by 'isself in dat."

"The Mocking Bird," which has its little fling at imitators, reads:

"Br'er Mocking Bird sings in de live oak shade,
A iron-hand chat or a serenade;
He'll take off a pa'tridge, a robin, or a jay,
But he'll nuver make a name no other way.
But he ain't by 'isself in dat, in dat—
But he ain't my 'isself in dat."

STUDENT OF OWN TONGUE.

Nothing was dearer to Mrs. Stuart's mind than a jealous study of the American spoken tongue, and concerning English criticism of the "American" language, she said:

"Speaking in the large, we are engaged, consciously or not, in an enrichment of the language. That which has been kept at home, and is hence too near their vision for perspective, has possibly suffered somewhat otherwise, and while a fine conversatism has undoubtedly preserved it in better form as to general usage, is it not in danger of becoming a little died out and formal? Is there not aeration, not only of the mind and soul of man, but of their vehicle of expression, in the broad American life with its rapid changes, its color constantly breaking into iridescence, not to mention its grappling and gripping as it breaks new ground and deals with things as well as people elemental?

"So with all our verbal cheapnesses, our short cuts, our nasal iniquities, and even our slang (which is almost as unpleasant as England's and fully four times as breezy), it seems to our American conceit that perhaps our loved common tongue has in the main gained flavor in American, even if it has lost somewhat in form—this, of course, of our 'English as she is spoke.'"

Mrs. Stuart was not a prolific writer, yet every story she wrote was worth while, and she had the happy faculty of combining humor and pathos in such a way as to add to the beauty of both. Among her books were "A Golden Wedding and Other Tales," "Carlotta's Intended," "In Simpkinsville," "Sonny," "Hally and Pizen," "Napoleon," "George Washington Jones," "Aunt Amity's Silver Wedding," "The Haunted Photograph," and "The Cacoon," which was her last book, published in 1915. She had one son, born in 1881, who died.

STUDIED HUMAN NATURE.

Mrs. Stuart was not a student of books, but of human nature and of personalities, and was particularly alive to original types. None of her characters were subtle, but were as sharply drawn as a cameo, and she did not permit attempts at brilliancy, at "fine writing," draw her away from the truth. Comedy is the prevailing note in her writings, but it is comedy not marred by melodrama—spontaneous and liquid. Pathos is used without ovedrawing it. Her favorite type was the "new issue" negro, the class that was trying to find itself after freedom. She depicted this character always lightly and humorously, and while not ignorant of the negro's defects and shortcomings, she was careful not to ridicule either him or the humble and illiterate class of hill people she drew so faithfully. Some of her humor was close to tears, but all of it was sparkling, truthful and sympathetic.

One of her critics has said that while Mrs. Stuart was not the first to treat the negro in fiction, she was probably the first to show him in his home life independent of his relations with his white neighbors. In dialect she was sure of her ground, whether writing of the negro or of the Latin-Americans of New Orleans (French, Spanish or Italians) in the days when English was a language acquired by necessity, not through choice, or of the Latin-American negro, with his jargon of French and English, both of which he mispronounced and clipped.

It is a notable characteristic of the writings of Mrs. Stuart that while most of her work was done in the North, she always wrote of Southern characters, adhering generally to the types mentioned, though in her single long story, "Babette," she wrote conventionally an idyl of Creole life in New Orleans. In "The Unlived Life of Little Mary Ellen" she adopted a style radically different from her usual writings, and this work, meritorious after a somewwhat strained fashion, does not represent the general character of her work, though it is considered by some of the foremost critics to be her best work.

CRITICS PRAISE HER WORK.

Before she began writing Mrs. Stuart found a wealth of literary material going to waste, and she entered the field lovingly and enthusiastically. She was adapted by nature as a short story writer, and she almost invariably subordinated plot to persons and mental latitudes. Contemporary critics have accredited her with "wide human sympathy, broad sanity, keen and delicate humor and intellectual poise."

Perhaps the best loved of her works are "In Simpkinsville," "Sonny" and "Napoleon Jackson." The Simpkinsville type of the backwoodsman is charmingly drawn with quiet but sparkling

humor, while the monologues of Deuteronomy Jones, father of Sonny, are a continual delight. So human was the humor of Mrs. Stuart that while we laugh about the personality of Napoleon Jackson, the gentleman of the plush rocker, we rarely laugh at that worthless personage.

The published works of Mrs. Stuart consist mainly of the following: "A Golden Wedding and Other Tales," "Carlotta's Intended and Other Stories," "The Story of Babette," "Sonny," "Solomon Crow's Christmas Packet and Other Tales," "In Simpkinsville," Moriah's Mourning and Other Half-Hour Sketches," "The Second Wooing of Salina Sue and Other Stories," "Holly and Pizen and Other Stories," "Napoleon Jackson, the Gentleman of the Plush Rocker," "The River's Children, an Idyl of the Mississippi," "Aunt Amity's Silver Wedding and Other Tales," "The Cocoon" (her latest published work), and in verse "Ole Daddy Do-Funny's Nonsense Jingles."

Mrs. Stuart has secured an abiding place in the literature of the country as a delineator of negro character and customs, as well as of those of backwoods whites—that humble but sturdy race of men who for four years carried the fortunes of a newly-born nation on the points of their bayonets. The dialect of her stories is not only captivating, it is real, which most dialect is not. In none of her writings did she strive for effect, and while she was not a depicter of character in the sense that she was an analyst, she was a character drawer in the sense that Dickens and Mark Twain were, getting the effect by a few bold strokes rather than by studied effort and detail in drawing. In other words, she allowed her characters to present themselves to the reader and confess their own characters. Such was the man Napoleon Jackson, whose mother prenatally "marked him for rest," and such were her other characters. "Sonny," one of the most fascinating characters in American literature, was presented in such outline by his "Hillbilly" father, Deuteronomy Jones, that the reader knew the lad's character perhaps better than he did himself.

During her extended visit to this city in the winter of 1913-14, Mrs. Stuart founded the Stuart Clan, the only New Orleans club of which she was an officer. This organization, composed of over a score of intellectual women, elected Mrs. Stuart permanent president, and she presided at all the meetings of that season and favored the sessions with original readings. The farewell luncheon given in her honor by the Stuart Clan at the new Country Club early in June, 1915, was a memorable social event in this city. On that occasion a hand-wrought and hand-carved chest was presented her by the club members to contain the degree conferred upon her contemporaneously by Tulane University. The last letter penned by the authoress during her long illness was to the vice president of the club.

The club was grief-stricken over the news of their beloved president's death, and has telegraphed an order for flowers and sent dispatches of sympathy, both as an organization and individually.

In New York Mrs. Stuart was identified with the Barnard, McDowell and Wednesday Afternoon clubs.

ANNUAL REPORT OF TREASURER W. O. HART FOR 1917.

RECEIPTS.

December 31, 1916, balance cash on hand			$ 150.31
Dues collected in January, 1917		$ 32.00	
Dues collected in February, 1917		16.00	
Dues collected in March, 1917	$ 526.00		
Refund for dinner ticket	1.00		
Refund by Perry & Buckley, printers.	3.85		
		530.85	
Dues collected in April, 1917		78.00	
Dues collected in May, 1917	$ 70.00		
Refund by Hotel Grunewald, centennial banquet, 1915	212.50		
		282.50	
Dues collected in June, 1917		46.00	
Dues collected in July, 1917	$ 16.00		
Refunded by postoffice	16.26		
		32.26	
Dues collected in August, 1917		4.00	
Dues collected in November, 1917		28.00	
Total receipts			1,049.61
Grand total			$1,199.92

DISBURSEMENT.

January, 1917, sundry expenses			$ 19.85
February, 1917, sundry expenses			37.69
March, 1917, sundry expenses			35.35
April, 1917, sundry expenses			70.90
May, 1917, sundry expenses			22.15
June, 1917, sundry expenses			38.40
July, 1917, sundry expenses		$ 50.11	
American Printing Co., on account of Souvenir Book, 1915		250.00	
American Red Cross		50.00	
Dunbar Rowland, for Letters of Claiborne, six volumes		30.00	
			382.11

August, 1917, sundry expenses		56.40
December, 1917, sundry expenses	$ 53.98	
Miss C. S. Freret, clerical services	65.00	
Binding Souvenir Books for War Libraries	21.75	
		140.73
Total disbursements		$ 803.58
Balance cash on hand		396.34

There were no receipts in September, October or December, and no disbursements in September, October or November.

REPORT OF ROBERT GLENK, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN.

At the meeting of the Society on February 21, 1917, the regular meeting date was changed from the third Wednesday to the third Tuesday of each month.

During the year 1917 ten monthly meetings were held and two special lectures were given by the Society, as follows:

MEETINGS AND LECTURES.

January 17—Purnell M. Milner, Forgotten Treks.
February 21—James Renshaw, The City Beautiful.
March 21—Miss Grace King, Boimare's Notes Bibliographiques.
March 26—Motion Pictures, Celebration of the Centennial of the Battle of New Orleans.
April 17—S. A. Trufant, Review of Banking in New Orleans, 1830-1840.
May 15—Mrs. H. F. Magruder, Baton Rouge, Baton Rouge Old and New, and Its People.
T. P. Thompson, The U. S. Flag and the Designation of the States of the Union by the Enlargement of Particular Stars.
June 19—Colonel Allison Owen, History of the Washington Artillery.
July 17—Doctor Joseph Holt, Review of Colonel Owen's Paper on the History of the Washington Artillery.
Professor Henry M. Gill, The War.
October 16—Joe Mitchell Pilcher, The Story of Marksville.
November 27—Miss Grace King, The True History of Philip Nolan.
December 18—W. O. Hart, History of the First Protestant Church in New Orleans.
J. F. C. Waldo, Story of the Unitarian Church in New Orleans.

December 21—Edward A. Parsons, In the Path of the Black Eagle. Illustrated.

The Executive Committee met twelve times during the year.

On January 8th, the Annual Reunion Dinner of the Louisiana Historical Society took place in the Gold Room of the Grunewald Hotel, about 130 members and friends of the Society participating. The excellent menu and well-filled program of speeches and singing were greatly enjoyed by all present. Mr. W. O. Hart was toastmaster of the occasion.

On October 24th, at 1 o'clock, at the City Hall and in the Council Chamber, took place a reception and ceremonies commemorative of the ceremonies taking place this day in Paris and preliminary to the Biennial Bi-Centennial Celebration in New Orleans in April, 1918. The program, which was preceded by a concert on the City Hall gallery by the United States Naval Station Band, was as follows:

The invocation, by Rev. A. Gordon Bakewell; address of welcome, by Mayor Behrman, and replied to by Mr. Gaspar Cusachs; speech, by Mr. E. Genoyer, acting Consul of French Republic, "America and France"; paper on Bienville, by Miss Grace King; outline of the Bi-Centennial program prepared for the celebration in New Orleans in April, by Mr. T. P. Thompson; song, "La Marsellaise," Miss Anita Deynoodt; song, "Joan of Arc," Miss Constance Ray; song, "The Call of the Flag," Mr. Charles Dorhauer; song, "The Star-Spangled Banner," led by Miss Rose Dirmann; Salute to the Flag, led by Mrs. C. Hamilton Tebault, and benediction, by Rev. J. B. Jeanmard.

Mr. W. O. Hart was master of ceremonies.

A large and brilliant gathering attended the ceremonies.

The delegates sent by the City of New Orleans to Paris to attend the ceremonies taking place there on the same date were:

General W. J. Behan, J. M. Vergnole,
Andre Lafargue, Paul Villere.

MEMBERSHIP.

Seventy-nine applicants were elected to active membership in the Society—fifty-two gentlemen and twenty-seven ladies.

During the year there were twenty-five resignations and seventeen deaths from among the members. The net increase in membership for 1917 is thirty-seven active members, making a total of 625 active members and thirteen honorary members on the roster of the Society on January 1, 1918.

Death has removed the following esteemed members during the year 1917:

DEATHS IN 1917.

Mr. Dudley Avery,
Reverend James H. Blenk,
Judge A. A. Gunby,

Judge A. D. Land,
Captain T. J. Woodward,
Captain C. W. Drown,
Mr. T. L. Barnes,
Mr. C. Meyer Eiseman,
Reverend William C. Gaynor,
Mr. Emile Hoehn,
Mr. A. Schmedtge,
Mr. Philip Werlein,
Mr. C. H. Willard,
Mr. Thomas J. Ford,
Mr. H. A. S. Bacher,
Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart,
Mrs. Aimee Bengnot.

NEW MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1917.

Miss Rena Duncan, 1533 Erato Street.
Mrs. Benjamin Lewis, 2419 Milan Street;
Mrs. Samuel B. Sneath, Tiffin, Ohio;
Mr. Alexander Hay, 834 Broadway;
Dr. Felix Gaudin, 1001 State Street;
Mrs. Edward Wisner, 2362 Camp Street;
Mr. Etienne Mazureau Reynes, 1206 North Rampart Street;
Mr. Albert Aschaffenburg, Lafayette Hotel;
Mrs. F. G. Govan, 909 Eleonore Street;
Mr. J. D. Kennedy, Hotel Monteleone;
Mr. M. Augustin, 323 Baronne Street;
Hon. John Marshall, Baton Rouge, La.;
Mr. S. Locke Breaux, 1907 Prytania Street;
Mr. R. D. Reeves, 1106 Nashville Avenue;
Miss Nellie Farwell, First and St. Charles Avenue;
Mr. Alfred Slidell, 136 Carondelet Street;
Mrs. George Koppel, 4411 Carondelet Street;
Mr. Gustave Pitot, 1438 North Prieur Street;
Mr. Frank Henning, 718 Pelican Avenue;
Mr. William A. Briant, 2409 Bienville Street;
Mrs. Celeste Claiborne Carruth, New Roads, La.;
Mr. T. L. Barnes, Hotel Bentley, Alexandria, La.;
Judge Taylor Beattie, Thibodaux, La.;
Miss Florence Lavelle, Mandeville, La.;
Mr. Arthur H. Dicks, 437 Carondelet Street;
Mr. Armand Romain, 211 Camp Street;
Mrs. Mary T. Yount, 2223 Soniat Street:
Mr. F. D. Charbonnet, Jr., 624 Gravier Street;
Mr. A. H. Johness, 630 Gravier Street;
Mr. Joseph Bernard, 1000 Title Guarantee Building;
Dr. J. L. Deslattes, Convent, La.;

Mr. Thomas J. Ford, 406 Chartres Street;
Mr. Parham Werlein, 605 Canal Street;
Mr. Charles F. Buck, Jr., 2027 Carondelet Street;
Mrs. Charles F. Buck, Jr., 2027 Carondelet Street;
Mr. Peter A. Chopin, 2800 St. Charles Avenue;
Rev. C. W. Bispham, 1727 Coliseum Street;
Mr. John B. Stetson, Jr., Elkin's Park, Pa.;
Mr. O. G. Boisseau, Holden, Missouri;
Mr. J. Edward Crusel, Denegre Building;
Mr. Fernand Laudumiey, 1112 North Rampart Street;
Dr. Rigney D'Aunoy, 1935 Ursuline Avenue;
Mrs. George B. Penrose, 2302 Prytania Street;
Dr. A. E. Fossier, 8134 Cohn Street;
Rev. Raymond Carra, St. Patrick's Church;
Mr. J. R. Wells, 211 St. Charles Street;
Mr. Bertrand Beer, 4035 St. Charles Avenue;
Miss Florence E. O'Neal, 215 Macheca Building;
Mr. J. L. Rice, 2326 Robert Street;
Hon. Harry D. Wilson, Baton Rouge, La.;
Mr. J. A. Wherry, 132 Carondelet Street;
Mr. E. W. Burgis, 222 Elmira Avenue, Algiers, La.;
Mrs. Wyndham A. Lewin, 2110 Bayou Road;
Mrs. Peter F. Pescud, 1413 Third Street;
Miss Eleanor E. Riggs, 4535 Prytania Street;
Mrs. Victoria M. Jones, 1337 Esplanade Avenue;
Mr. St. Clair Adams, 416 Hibernia Building;
Miss Alice M. Goforth, 635 Mills Avenue, Baton Rouge, La.;
Miss Nellie W. Price, 1231 Webster Street;
Dr Milton A. Dunn, Colfax, La.;
Mr. Joe Mitchell Pilcher, Marksville, La.;
Mr. Jules Mazarat, 1921 Ursuline Avenue;
Mr. J. A. Barger, 7315 St. Charles Avenue;
Colonel James Long Wright, 617 Common Street;
Mr. Alfred S. Amer, St. Charles Hotel;
Mr. Robert Legier, 124 Carondelet Street;
Mr. F. A. Brunet, 313 Royal Street;
Miss Marie L. Points, 930 Elysian Fields Avenue;
Mrs. J. W. Carnahan, 2204 Calhoun Street;
Mrs. Benjamin Ory, 1620 Seventh Street;
Mrs. Fred Querens, 2016 Baronne Street;
Miss M. V. Denegre, 2427 St. Charles Avenue;
Mr. P. L. Noblom, 516 Canal Street;
Mrs. Olivia Blanchard, 1237 St. Andrew Street;
Mr. Louis A. St. Martin, 3700 Dauphine Street;
Miss Delphine Points, 930 Elysian Fields Avenue;
Mr. Adolfo E. Hegewisch, Wolvin Line, Whitney Building;
Mr. W. H. Anderson, 5212 Coliseum Street;
Mrs. Marie Mioton, 1219 North Rampart Street.

Publications of the Society.

Volume 9 of the Louisiana Historical Society Proceedings and Reports was prepared for publication by Miss Grace King during the year and has been sent to all members not in arrears.

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, edited by Mr. John Dymond, appeared on June 5th, and has been admitted to the mails as second-class matter. Only one number so far has been issued, owing to unexpected difficulties in having the publication prepared and printed.

Back numbers of the proceedings of the Society are still available and can be had on application to the President.

Two hundred and fifty copies of the Society's publication, entitled "The Story of the Battle of New Orleans," by Stanley Clisby Arthur, were ordered bound and were distributed to the various camp libraries through Professor Gill for the use of the American soldiers.

Gifts to the Society.

The following gifts have been received during the year and deposited with the Society's collections in the Louisiana State Museum in the Cabildo:

Miss Fannie Wolfson—Commission as postmaster of Campti, La., 1845, issued to Jacob A. Wolfson by the United States Government and by the Confederate States Government in 1862.

H. W. Robinson—Copy of the New Orleans *Democrat,* September 14, 1874, and the New Orleans *Picayune,* September 22, 1874.

E. K. Summerville (through Mr. Hart)—Four large photographs of the home and the tomb of John J. Audubon, in New York.

Commodore A. V. Wadhams (through Mr. Hart)—Two small photographs of ex-slaves of Louisiana, made in New York in 1862.

A. M. Costa—Old percussion cap gun, found in Lake Pontchartrain.

Miss Grace King—Old pistol, found in making excavations in New Orleans.

William Beer—Copy of a document on the history of the Battle of New Orleans.

W. O. Hart—Program of celebration of the 142nd anniversary of the Battle of Lexington; New Orleans, program of the meeting of the Louisiana Bar Association, 1917; report of the Committee on Uniform State Laws, 1917.

Professor Milledge L. Bonham, Jr.—Reprint; Baton Rouge's Municipal Centenary.

Library.

To the Library of the Louisiana Historical Society have been added 388 bound volumes, pamphlets and parts of volumes,

making a total of 986 books and 3,083 pamphlets on the shelves. As most of the publications received by the Society are in paper covers, a large share being parts of volumes, it would be very desirable to have a small appropriation set aside for binding each year, so that the publications could be better cared for. Index cards have been made out so that the matter contained in the publications is made available for readers and students.

The Society purchased a set of six volumes of Governor W. C. C. Claiborne's letters, from 1800 to 1815, published by Dr. Dunbar Rowland, of the Mississippi Department of History.

Exchanges and gifts were received from the following:

GIFTS AND EXCHANGES TO THE LIBRARY.

Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Ga., Proceedings Seventy-eighth Annual Meeting.

Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana—Indiana Magazine of History.

Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois, Biennial Report.

Chicago Historical Society, Dearborn and Ontario Streets, Chicago, Illinois, Publications.

Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa, Iowa Journal of History and Politics.

Iowa State Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa, Publications.

Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, Twentieth Annual Report.

Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky, Publications.

Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky, Catalogue No. 5.

Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, Historical Collections, Volume 53.

Massachusetts Historical Society, Fenway Station, Boston, Massachusetts, Publications.

Cambridge Historical Society, 59 Temple Place, Boston, Massachusetts, Publications.

Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 37 No. Water Street, New Bedford, Massachusetts, Publications.

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, Proceedings, Volume 26.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Lansing, Michigan, Publications.

State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, Missouri Historical Review.

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, Minnesota History Bulletin.

Missouri Historical Society, Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis, Missouri, Publications.

Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska, Publications, Volume 18.

New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, New Jersey, Proceedings.

Vineland Historical Society, Vineland, New Jersey, Vineland Historical Magazine.

Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, 155th and Broadway, New York City, Publications.

Rochester Historical Society, Rochester, New York, Publications.

New York State Historical Department, Library, Albanay, New York, Publications.

Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, New York, Publications.

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 155th and Broadway, New York City, Bulletins.

New York Historical Society, 120 Central Park West, New York City, Bulletin.

American Jewish Historical Society, New York City, Magazine.

Journal of American History, 30 East Forty-second Street, New York City, Volume 2.

New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, 226 West Fifty-eighth Street, New York City, Record.

North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, North Carolina, Publications.

Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, Quarterly.

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Burnet Woods Park, Cincinnati, Ohio, Quarterly.

Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, Reports.

South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina, Publications.

Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee, Tennessee Historical Magazine.

Texas State Historical Association, Austin, Texas, Southwestern Historical Quarterly.

Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography.

Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin, Magazine of History.

Washington State University Historical Society, Seattle, Washington, Quarterly.

Library of Congress, Washington, District of Columbia, Publications.

Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford Connecticut, Publications.

University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, Publications.

American Historical Association, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, District of Columbia, Reports.

Academy of Pacific Coast, University of California, Berkeley, California, Publications.

American Catholic Historical Society, 715 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Records.

Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, Rhode Island, Publications.

Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine, Publications.

North Dakota State Historical Society, Bismarck, North Dakota, Bulletin.

Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Historia.

Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, Proceedings.

Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Reports.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Publications.

South Dakota Historical Society, Pierre, South Dakota, Publications.

Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont, Publications.

Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, Publications.

Presbyterian Historical Society, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Publications.

Philadelphia Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Publications.

Nevada Historical Society, Reports.

National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, District of Columbia, Publication.

American Folk Lore Society, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Publication.

The Record, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Sauk County Historical Soociety, Baraboo, Wisconsin, Reports.

Wisconsin Archæological Society, Madison, Wisconsin, Bulletin.

Arkansas Historical Association, Fayetteville, Arkansas, Publications.

University of California Library, Berkeley, California, Publications.

California Historical Survey Commission, Berkeley, California, Reports.

New York State Historical Association, Albany, New York, Reports.

Historical Society of New Mexico, Santa Fé, New Mexico, Publications.

Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Proceedings.

Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Register.

State Library of Massachusetts, Boston, Massachusetts, Publications.

Columbia University Library, New York City, Publications.

New York Public Library, New York City, Publications.

Eugenic Record Office, Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, New York, Publications.

Long Island Historical Soociety, Brooklyn, New York, Publications.

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Publiçations.

State University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, Register.

Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Publications.

Trinity College Historical Society, North Carolina, Publications.

Rocky Mountain Herald, Denver, Colorado, Publication.

John Crerar Library, Chicago, Reports.

Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Review.

University of Texas, Austin, History Teachers' Bulletin.

Bucks County Historical Society, Doylestown, Pennsylvania, Proceedings.

Annual Magazine, Subject Index, 1916.

University of Illinois, Urbana, Studies in the Social Sciences.

Alliance Francaise, Paris, Bulletins.

Latin Quarter News, New Orleans, 1917.

North Carolina Historical Society, James Sprunt, Historical Publications.

John Dymond, Louisiana Planter, 1917 issues.

Professor W. MacNeile Dixon, London, 15 Pamphlets on the World War.

Sir Gilbert Parker, London, 42 Pamphlets on the World War.

Paris Chamber of Commerce, 66 Pamphlets on the World War.

Louisiana Historical Society, Proceedings, Volume 9, and Louisiana Historical Quarterly, Volume 1, No. 1.

Administrative Work.

The administrative work performed by the Corresponding Secretary has been as follows:

Notices sent out announcing meetings	7,850
Envelopes addressed for committees	600

Publications mailed to members and exchanges	1,725
Communications received and replied to	321
Letters sent out in connection with library work	62
Letters written announcing election to membership	79
Corrections made in addressograph stencils, new addresses	44
Addressograph plates made for new members	79

As a supplement to this report is given a list of the officers and the committees of the Society on January 1, 1918, and the Constitution and By-Laws, also a list of the papers published in the proceedings of the Louisiana Historical Society, Volumes 1 to 10, 1895 to 1917.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT GLENK,
Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MR. GASPAR CUSACHS.....President
MR. JOHN DYMOND.....First Vice-President
MR. T. P. THOMPSON.....Second Vice-President
JUDGE HENRY RENSHAW.....Third Vice-President
MR. W. O. HART.....Treasurer
MISS GRACE KING.....Recording Secretary
MR. BUSSIERE ROUEN.....Corresponding Secretary
MRS. HELOISE H. CRUZAT.....Assistant Secretary

COMMITTEES.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Gaspar Cusachs, Chairman; John Dymond, T. P. Thompson, Henry Renshaw, William O. Hart, Miss Grace King, Robert Glenk.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.

Colonel H. J. de la Vergne, Chairman; Miss Emma Zacharie, George Koppel.

FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Justin F. Denechaud, Chairman; Henry M. Gill, Sebastian Roy.

WORK AND ARCHIVES COMMITTEE.

Gaspar Cusachs, Chairman; Grace King, Robert Glenk, William O. Hart, T. P. Thompson and A. B. Booth.

BIENVILLE MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

Mayor Martin Behrman, Chairman; T. P. Thompson, John Dymond, Miss Grace King, W. O. Hart; Gaspar Cusachs, ex-officio.

COMMITTEE TO CONFER WITH THEODORE GRUNEWALD IN REGARD TO HISTORICAL PAINTINGS FOR THE WALLS IN THE HOTEL GRUNEWALD.

Judge Charles F. Claiborne, Chairman; John Dymond, W. O. Hart, A. B. Booth and Mrs. M. Seebold Molinary.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

MEMBERSHIP.

Section 1. The members of this Society shall be composed of such persons as are mentioned in the Act of Incorporation by the Legislature of the State, approved April 30th, A. D. 1877, and such other persons of both sexes as may be duly elected.

Section 2. The active members shall be residents of the State, and shall be elected by ballot, or *vice versa*, as may be deemed expedient at any regular meeting.

Section 3. Honorary members may be either residents or non-residents, and shall be chosen in the same manner as the active members. A majority of the members present at any regular meeting shall be requisite to elect a member of either class. Five members at any meeting shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE II.

OFFICERS.

Section 1. The officers of the Society shall be a President, three Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

Section 2. All officers of this Society shall be elected annually at a January meeting held on the 8th of January. If the 8th falls on Sunday, the meeting shall be held on Monday.

ARTICLE III.

COMMITTEES.

The standing committees shall be as follows:

An Executive Committee, to consist of the President, Vice Presidents, Treasurer, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary and three fellows.

A Finance Committee of three members, to be appointed by the President.

A Committee on Work and Archives of six members, including the President and Secretaries.

A Committee on Membership of three members, to be appointed by the President.

ARTICLE IV.

TRANSACTIONS.

The transactions of the Society shall be published in such form as may be most convenient and practicable, and shall be exchanged with those of other historical societies as far as possible.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The general order of business at every meeting shall be as follows:

1. Calling the roll of officers and members.
2. Reading of the minutes.
3. Reports of committees.
4. Resolutions.
5. Communications or essays.
6. Such other business as may be brought up.

ARTICLE V.

FELLOWS.

The Executive Committee shall propose and the Society shall elect from its members a number of FELLOWS (this number never to exceed fifty). No members shall be eligible as fellows who have not donated valuable historical matter to the Soociety, or contributed original articles to its publications.

Three of these fellows shall be elected also as members of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI.

AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the active members present. Provided, that notice of the amendment proposed shall have been given in writing and read at a previous regular meeting.

ARTICLE VII.

DUES.

The dues of the Society shall be two dollars a year.

PAPERS PUBLISHED IN THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VOLUMES 1 TO 10, 1895-1917.

Adams, Prof. Ephriam D.: Letter relative to the Battle of New Orleans, written by British officer in 1815. Vol. 9, 1916.

Augustin, J. M.: Reception of President McKinley at Cabildo, Report. Vol. 3, 1901.

Augustin, J. M.: Catalogue of the exhibit of the Louisiana Historical Society at the Public Library, February, 1900. Vol. 2, 1901.

Bakewell, Rev. A. Gordon: Reminiscences of John J. Audubon, Vol. 5, 1910.

Beer, William: The Capture of Fort Charlotte, Mobile. Vol. 1, 1896.

Contributions to pamphlet literature by Charles Gayarre. Vol. 3, 1905.

Transcripts of French Manuscripts, Mississippi Valley, 1679-1769. Vol. 4, 1908.

Early census tables of Louisiana, transcripts by Tantet. Vol. 5, 1910.

Impressions of J. K. Paulding on Journey from New Orleans to Cairo, 1817; reprint. Vol. 8, 1915.

State Historical Department of Mississippi. Vol. 8, 1915.

Beyer, Prof. George E.: The Mounds of Louisiana; Larto Group. Vol. 2, 1896.

The Mounds of Louisiana; Franklin Parish. Vol. 2, 1898.

Ancient Basketwork from Avery Island. Vol. 2, 1898.

Investigation of Shell Mounds in Calcasieu Parish. Vol. 2, 1898.

Mound Investigations at Lemar, La. Vol. 2, 1899.

Bouchereau, A.: Statement of the Sugar Crop in Louisiana in 1896-97. Vol. 2, 1897.

Breaux, Judge Joseph A.: Some Early Colleges and Schools in Louisiana. Vol. 8, 1915.

Butler, Prof. Pierce: Celebration of the Louisiana Statehood Centennial; Report, 1912. Vol. 6.

Cruzat, J. W.: Journal de la Campagne de Mr. de Villiers, dupuis son arrivée ou fort Duquesne jusqu'a son retour and fort. (From Canadian Archives.) Vol. 3, 1904.

Biographical and Genealogical Notes concerning the family of Philippe de Mandeville Ecuyer sieur de Marigny. 1709. Vol. 5, 1910.

The Defenses of New Orleans in 1797. Vol. 5, 1910.

Cusachs, Gaspar: Representation upon the limits of Louisiana made to His Excellency the Duke of Alcudia by His

Excellency Brigadier General Estevan Miro. Vol. 2, 1898.
Letter of Governor Miro to the Commissioner of the State of Georgia. Vol. 2, 1898.
Letter from Governor Claiborne to General James Wilkinson, 1806. Vol. 9, 1916.
Dart, William Kernan: Walt Whitman in New Orleans. Vol. 7, 1915.
De La Vergne, H. J.: Charles Frederick D'Arensburg, Vol. 7, 1915.
Devron, Dr. Gustavus: Biography of Pierre Margry. Vol. 2, 1896.
Two original and newly found documents of the departure, shipwreck and death of Mr. Aubry, last French Governor of Louisiana. Vol. 2, 1897.
Dupre, Hon. H. Garland: Fernando de Lemos, by Charles Gayarre; review. Vol. 3, 1905.
Elder, Mrs. S. B.: Bienville's Difficulties in Founding of New Orleans. Vol. 7, 1915.
A Statue due to Sieur de Bienville. Vol. 7, 1915.
Favrot, Henry L.: The State Seal. Vol. 3, 1902.
Some of the causes and conditions that brought about the West Florida Revolution in 1810. Vol. 1, 1895.
West Florida Revolution, and incidents growing out of it. Vol. 1, 1896.
Ficklen, Prof. John R.: The Northwestern Boundary of Louisiana, with special reference to the French Cession of 1803. Vol. 2, 1898.
Judge Gayarre's Histories of Louisiana. Vol. 3, 1905.
Fortier, Prof. Alcee: Philip II of Spain, by Charles Gayarre. Vol. 3, 1905.
Review of Old Papers of Colonial Times. (Records of Superior Council of Cabildo.) Vol. 1, 1895.
Centennial Celebration of the Louisiana Transfer; report. Vol. 3, 1903.
Glenk, Robert: Activities of the Louisiana Historical Society for the year 1914-15. Vol. 8.
Activities of the Louisiana Historical Society for the year 1915-16. Vol. 9.
Grima, Edgar: Municipal support of Theatres and Operas in New Orleans. Vol. 8, 1916.
Hart, W. O.: The School for Politics, by Charles Gayarre. Vol. 3, 1905.
The Bible in Louisiana a Century Ago. Vol. 9, 1916.
History of the First Protestant Church in New Orleans. Vol. 10, 1917.
Kernion, George C. H.: Samuel Jarvis Peters; the man who made New Orleans of To-day. Vol. 7, 1915.

King, Miss Grace: The Yturbide of New Orleans. Vol. 8, 1916.
Notes Bibliographiques, by Boimare. Vol. 10, 1917.
The true history of Philip Nolan. Vol. 10, 1917.
LeJeune, Mrs. Emilie: Reminiscences of the French Opera. Vol. 9, 1915.
Loeb, Harry Brunswick: The Opera in New Orleans. Vol. 9, 1915.
Martin, George Fox: The Quaker and the Creole. Vol. 7, 1915.
McLoughlin, James J.: The Black Code. Vol. 8, 1915.
Milner, Purnell M.: Forgotten Treks. Vol. 8, 1915.
Fort MaComb. Vol. 7, 1916.
Morgan, H. Gibbs, Jr.: Origin of the name "Tammany." Vol. 5, 1910.
New Orleans Cotton Exchange: Cotton Crop of the United States and Louisiana, 1896-97. Vol. 2, 1897.
O'Brien, Rev. J. J.: Sketch of the Expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Colonial Louisiana. Vol. 9, 1916.
Owen, Colonel Allison: History of the Washington Artillery. Vol. 10, 1917.
Palmer, Rev. B. M.: The Tribunal of History. Vol. 1, 1895.
Pemberton, Gilbert: Noblesse Oblige. Vol. 8, 1915.
Report of Governor Esteban Miro and Entendente Martin Navarro on the Fire which Destroyed New Orleans, 1788. Vol. 8, 1915.
Notes on General Wilkinson's Memorial and Miro and Navarro's Dispatch No. 13. Vol. 9, 1916.
Pilcher, Joe Mitchell: The Story of Marksville. Vol. 10, 1917.
Price, William: Work of Indexing Louisiana's Black Boxes. (Colonial Documents.) Vol. 8, 1915.
Renshaw, Henry: The Louisiana Ursulines. Vol. 3, 1901.
Charles Gayarre, Biography. Vol. 3, 1905.
Semmes, Judge Thos. J.: A Remarkable Relic of the Confederacy. Vol. 1, 1895.
Seymour, William H.: General Jackson's Last Letter from Chalmette Prior to the Battle of New Orleans. Vol. 2, 1895.
Soniat, Charles T.: Chronological Statement of Papers and Documents Relative to Louisiana in the National Historical Archives, Madrid. Vol. 3, 1908.
The Title to the Jesuits' Plantation. Vol. 4, 1910.
Souchon, Dr. Edmond: Original Contributions of Louisiana to Medical Sciences. Vol. 8, 1915.
Theard, Alfred F.: How to Build the Chalmette Monument. Vol. 4, 1908.
Thompson, T. P.: Early Financing in New Orleans; being the story of the Canal Bank, 1831-1915. Vol. 7, 1915.
Adrian Rouquette. Vol. 7, 1915.

Origin of the Various Names of the Mississippi River. Vol. 9, 1916.
Trufant, S. A.: Review of Banking in New Orleans, 1830-40. Vol. 10, 1917.
Ursuline Convent: Reprint; Traite de la Campagnies des Indies avec les Ursulines. Vol. 2, 1901.
Weather Bureau: Record; The Climate of New Orleans. Vol. 2, 1897.
Widman, Rev. C. F.: Florida as Described by a Spaniard in 1568. Vol. 3, 1904.
Zacharie, Hon. James S.: New Orleans; Its Old Streets and Places. Vol. 3, 1900.
The Archives of Cuba. Vol. 3, 1905.
Aubert Dubayet. by Charles Gayarre: review. Vol. 3, 1905.

RETURN TO ➡ **CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT**
202 Main Library

LOAN PERIOD 1 **HOME USE**	2	3
4	5	6

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS

Renewals and Recharges may be made 4 days prior to the due date.

Books may be Renewed by calling 642-3405.

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

AUTO DISC MAY 03	1988	

FORM NO. DD6,

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY
BERKELEY, CA 94720

GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BERKELEY

B000531800

556813

F366
L8
v.9-10

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY